FIRST NATIONS' ETHNOGRAPHY AND ETHNOHISTORY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA'S LOWER KOOTENAY/ COLUMBIA HYDROPOWER REGION

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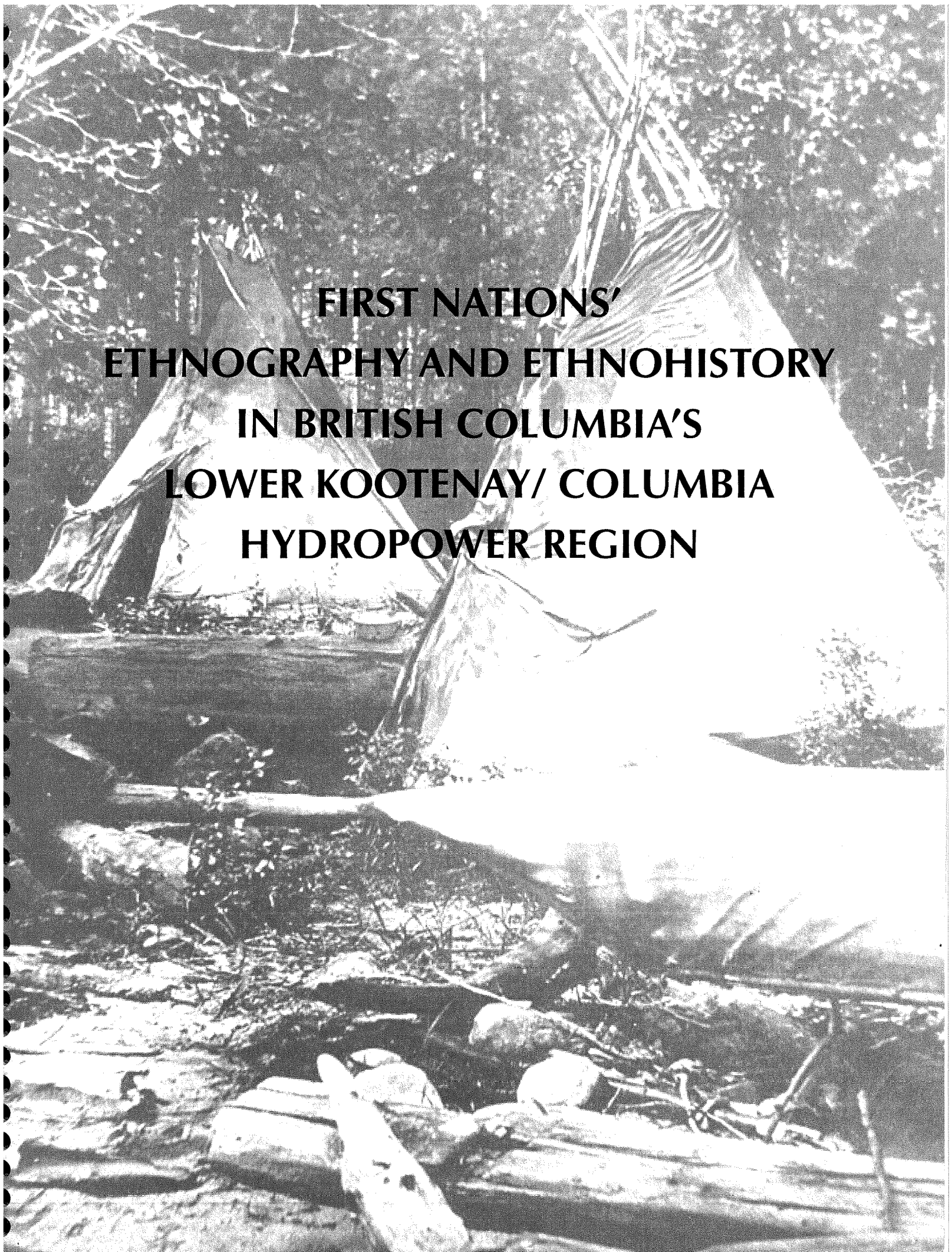

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Cover photo credits: (foreground) Sturgeon-nosed canoe on the Arrow Lakes. Arrow Lakes Historical Society Archives, Nakusp, B.C.; (background) Arrow Park (Vancouver Archives photo). Page 43, In, Faces of the Past: Centennial Series, Vol. 1. Published by the Arrow Lakes Historical Society, Nakusp, B.C., 1989.

Frontispiece photo credit: Lakes Indian Encampment at Nakusp Point, Upper Arrow Lake, 1907. Page 10, In, Faces of the Past: Centennial Series, Vol. 1, published by the Arrow Lakes Historical Society, Nakusp, B.C., 1989.

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PREFACE

Columbia Power Corporation (CPC) first approached the British Columbia Indian Language Project in early 1998. CPC was seeking additional information on First Nations'[1] land use and history in support of permitting obligations for the Keenleyside Powerplant Project on the Columbia River, which CPC was developing in partnership with Columbia Basin Trust. Discussions with CPC subsequent to the Keenleyside work concluded that a broader traditional land use study covering certain other areas of the Columbia Basin would help facilitate planning for potential future projects. Consequently, in June 1999, CPC commissioned this present report entitled "First Nations' Ethnography and Ethnohistory in BC's Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region."

This study includes the known available data relating to the area of the Brilliant Expansion Project, a proposed development that will involve the construction of a second powerhouse at Brilliant Dam. Permitting of the Brilliant Expansion requires CPC to consider traditional First Nations' land use at the project site, further to requirements set out in the BC Environmental Assessment Act and the Delgamuukw decision of the Supreme Court of Canada.

This report has been compiled to assist CPC in its Brilliant Expansion considerations and consultations. Also included is ethnographic and ethnohistoric information pertaining to the Pend d'Oreille River (site of a possible future Waneta Expansion Project) and other rivers in the region.

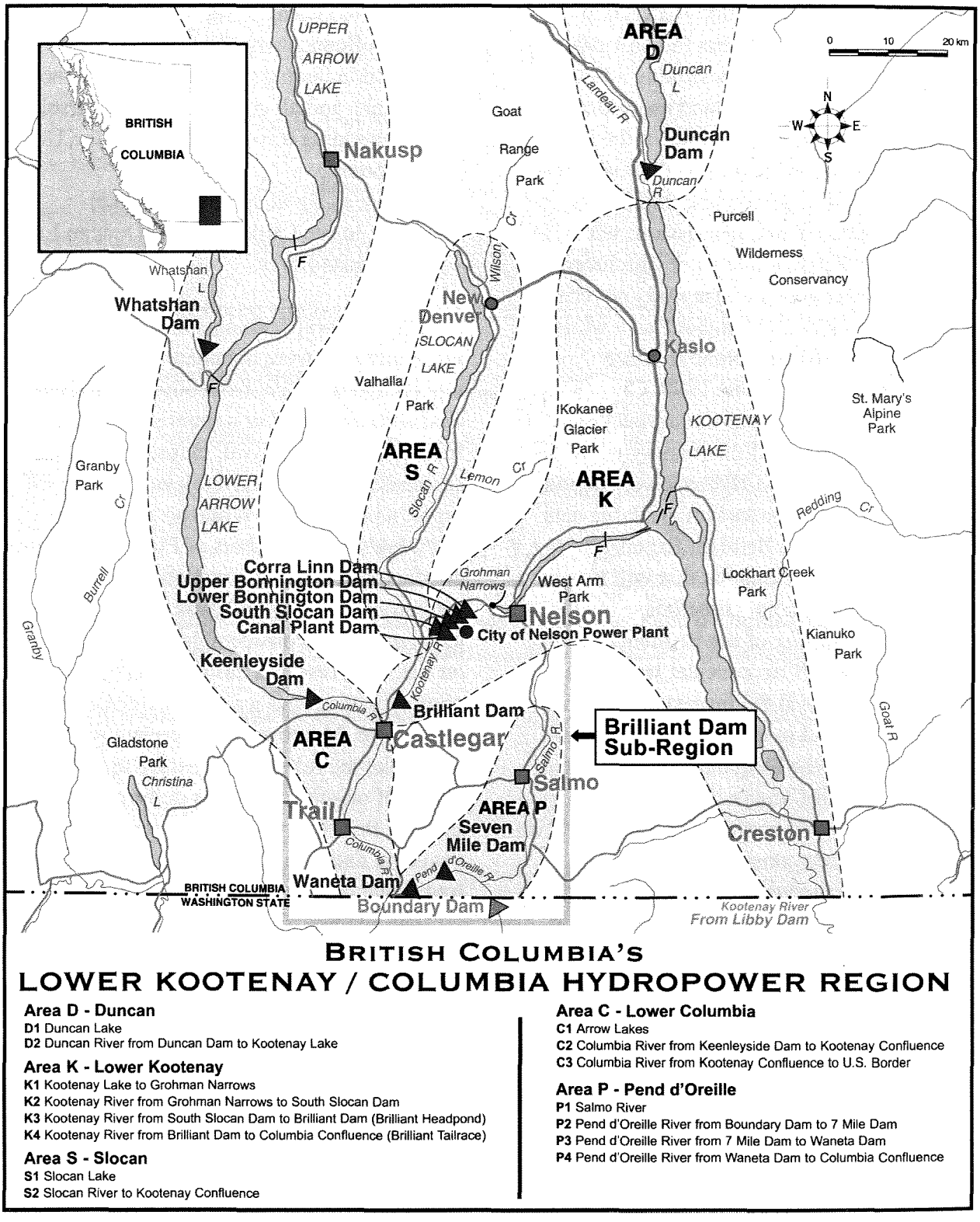
At CPC's request, we have organized this report into project and general interest areas identified by CPC as constituting the "BC Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region" as follows (see Figures 1 and 2):

- the Columbia River from the United States border north to the vicinity of Revelstoke, including the Arrow Lakes;
- the B.C. portion of the Pend d'Oreille River;
- the Salmo River;
- the Kootenay River, beginning from its confluence with the Columbia River, up to and including the West Arm of Kootenay Lake and all of Kootenay Lake itself, and extending through Creston to the U.S. border;
- Slocan River and Slocan Lake;
- the lower Lardeau River, Duncan Lake, and Duncan River.

Ethnographic, ethnohistoric and linguistic data presented here were obtained from our previous reports and research, from other related and available published or unpublished sources, and from additional archival, museum, or library searches that we deemed relevant during the report's preparation. While no additional interviews with members of First Nations were conducted during the completion of this report, further archival research was undertaken to supplement the considerable information already on file. This research has been very comprehensive, but we do not claim that it is exhaustive. Moreover, we were not requested to undertake the research necessary to determine the extent of ongoing activities in the study region. Instead, this report focuses on presenting the available data concerning First Nations' traditional land use.

The analysis and opinions expressed in this report are solely those of its authors, Bouchard and Kennedy. Ideas, opinions, and conclusions contained in this report may not necessarily concur with or reflect the views of the funding agency, Columbia Power Corporation, or of its development partner, Columbia Basin Trust.

Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy
British Columbia Indian Language Project
Victoria, B. C.
August, 2000



BRITISH COLUMBIA'S LOWER KOOTENAY / COLUMBIA HYDROPOWER REGION

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Area K - Lower Kootenay
- **K1** Kootenay Lake to Grohman Narrows
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Area P - Pend d'Oreille
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- **P3** Pend d'Oreille River from 7 Mile Dam to Waneta Dam
- **P4** Pend d'Oreille River from Waneta Dam to Columbia Confluence

Figure 1. British Columbia's Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region.

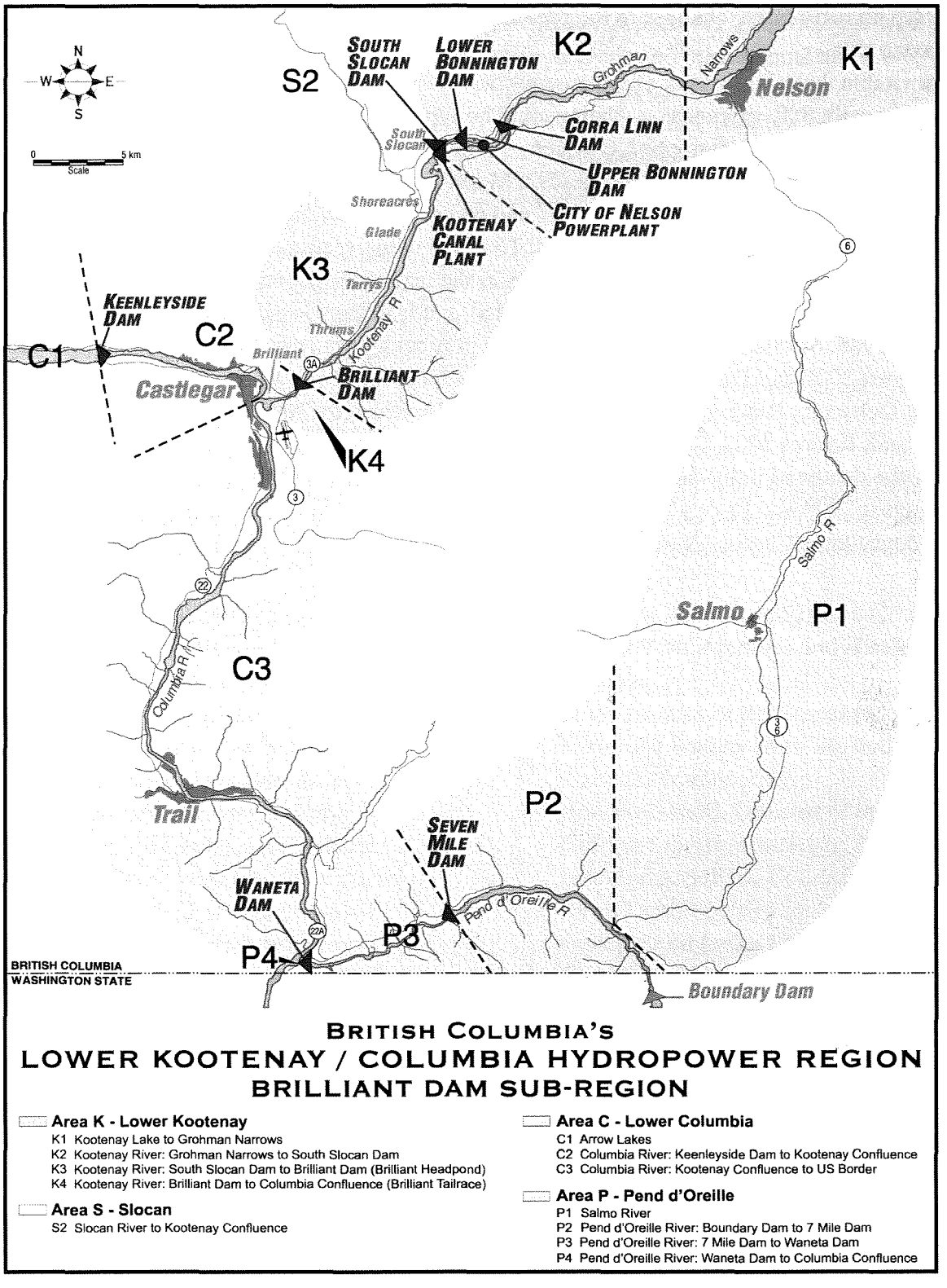


Figure 2. British Columbia's Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region: Brilliant Dam Sub-Region.

PREFACE TO 2nd PRINTING

There are no substantive changes in the present April 2005 2nd Printing of our August 2000 report with this same title.

It is inevitable that with a work of this magnitude — comprising 400 pages and including almost 380 endnotes and nearly 800 references — there would be typographical errors. These have been corrected. As well, a few sentences and paragraphs have been rewritten for better clarity, including the second paragraph on page 265 and the first paragraph on page 292. Moreover, portions of several endnotes have been revised; these are numbers 5 and 8, 137, 17, 17 and 65 on pages 38, 160, 175, 199 and 242 respectively.

The remaining changes focus on references. To begin with, references that were inadvertantly left out in the August 2000 version have been added, both in the text of the report and in the References section; these are: British Columbia 1895; Chamberlain n.d.a - n.d.f; Robinson and Wickwire 1992; Sismey 1970; and Turnbull 1988. Similarly, references to new and pertinent works that have come into existence between August 2000 and December 2004 have been added; these are: Bouchard and Kennedy 2001; 2002; 2004; Delehanty Pearkes 2002; 2004; Gordon 2004; Kennedy 2002; MacLaren 2001; Prentiss et al. 2001; and, Reeves 2002.

Finally, the deaths of individuals who made major contributions to this report but who passed away between August 2000 and December 2004 have been indicated in our Acknowledgements. These are aboriginal consultants Charlie Quintasket and Martin Louie, and anthropologist Verne Ray.

Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy
April, 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are pleased to acknowledge again with gratitude and respect those Lakes (*sngaytskstx*)[2] Indian people — all members of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation in Washington State — who, between 1975-1985, contributed to our understanding of Lakes history and culture: [3]

- the late Charlie Quintasket (Figure 3), who in 1972 first brought to our attention the situation of the Lakes people in British Columbia (see also Section 1.0 of the present report);
- the late Mary Marchand (Figure 4);
- the late Julia Quintasket;
- the late Louise Lemery;
- the late Joe Barr;
- the late Johnnie Adolph;
- the late Ellen and Albert Stone;
- Jeannette Aleck.

As well, we again acknowledge, with sincere thanks, several of our other Native friends with whom we stayed on the Colville Reservation while conducting research with the Lakes, Colville and Sanpoil in the 1970s-1980s. These people were not only generous hosts but also shared with us important ethnographic and linguistic information: the late Louie Pichette (Colville) and his wife, the late Cecelia Pichette (Sanpoil); and the late Nettie Francis (Sanpoil). The late Ellen and Albert Stone (Lakes) were also generous hosts and friends. Two other Colville friends who made extensive contributions to our studies were the late Martin Louie and his brother, the late Albert Louie. In particular, our lengthy working relationship and friendship with Martin Louie, who was one of our most important sources of ethnographic and linguistic information, continued from 1966 until the late 1990s.

The staff of numerous archival institutions, as well as many other individual people, have assisted us during the research and compilation of the present report. We acknowledge with thanks the courteous and professional assistance that has been provided by the following:

- Shawn Lamb, Director of the Nelson Museum and Archives, and Alan Ramsden, a local historian who is President of the Kootenay Museum Association;
- Tammy Bradford, Manager of the Creston & District Historical Museum Society, and her assistants, Cynthia Okros and Delilah Milne;
- Cathy English, Curator of the Revelstoke Museum and Archives, and her assistant, Peter Nicholson;
- Chris D'Arcy and Debbie McIntosh of the Castlegar and District Heritage Society, and Sherri Cournoyer of the Kootenay Gallery in Castlegar;
- Courtney Palsson and Jennie Cowell of the City of Trail Archives and Historical Society;
- Janet Thomas of the Stevens County Historical Society Museum and Archives in Colville, Washington;
- Ron Wellwood, Director of the Selkirk College Library, Castlegar; Bill Sloan, historian at Selkirk College; Mark Mealing, former anthropology instructor at Selkirk College; and Laura Peers, anthropologist at Oxford University, England;
- Linda Wills of the Vernon City Archives, and Heather Street of the Salmo Museum and Archives;
- Archaeologists Martin Handly and Rob Lackowicz of Kutenai West Heritage Consulting, Trail;
- Local historians Milton and Rosemary Parent of the Arrow Lakes Historical Society, Nakusp; Clark Marshall, of Burton and Vernon; Byng Giraud, of Castlegar; Harold Webber, of Castlegar and Victoria;

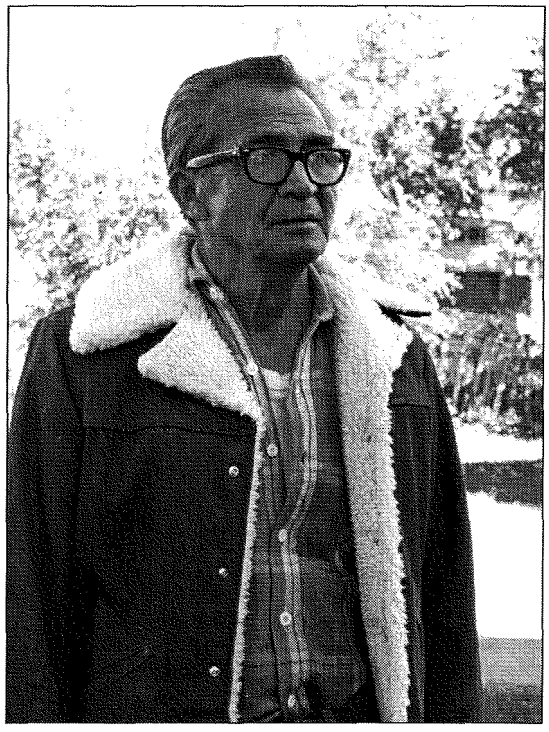


Figure 3. The late Charlie Quintasket (D. Kennedy photo), 1978.

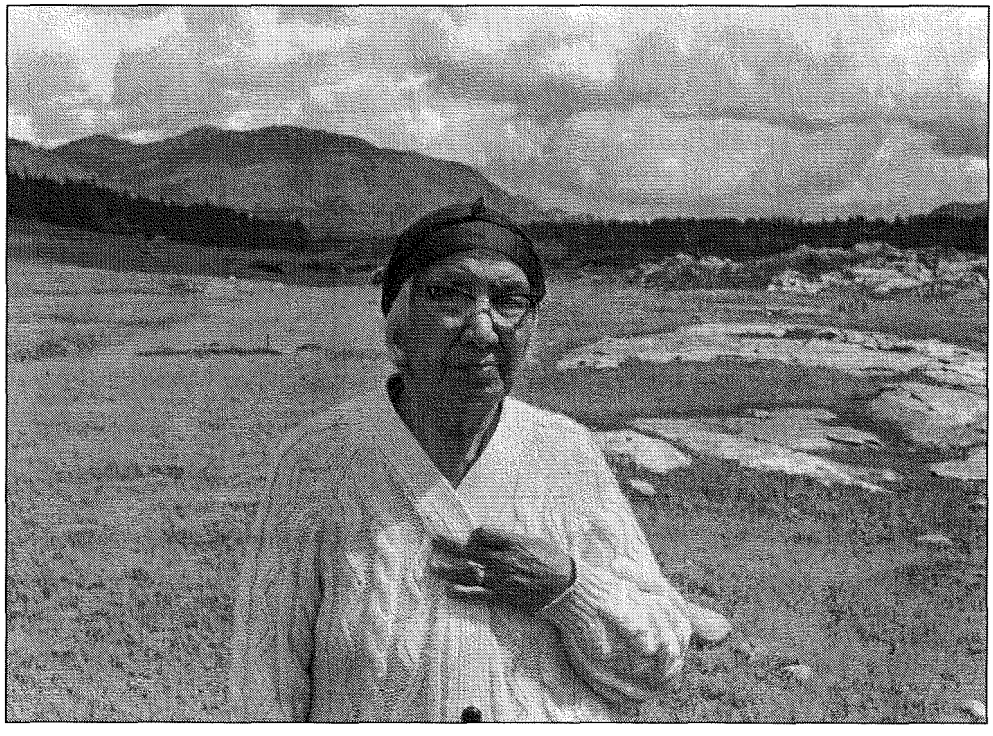


Figure 4. The late Mary Marchand (D. Kennedy photo), 1978.

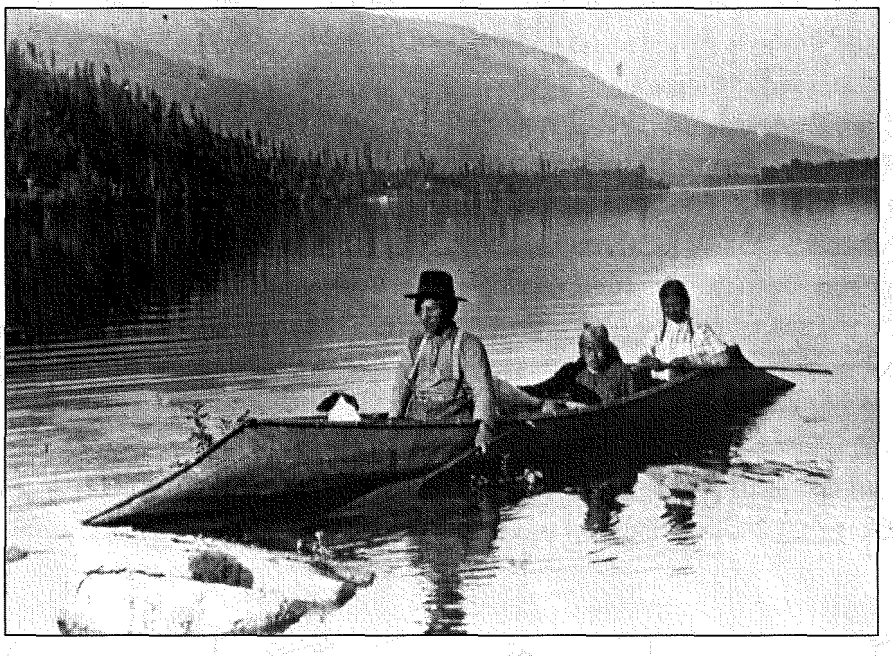
Bill Barlee, of Summerland and Victoria; and John Norris of New Denver;
- Place name specialists Helen and the late Philip Akrigg of Vancouver, and Janet Mason of the Geographical Names Office, B.C. Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks, Victoria;
- Fisheries Biologists Larry Hildebrand of Golder Associates Ltd., Castlegar, and Bob Lindsay of the Fisheries Branch, B.C. Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks, Nelson;
- Frank Webster of Robson; Peter Popoff of Castlegar; Dave Gavrilik of Castlegar; J.W.E. (Ernie) Alexander of the Lardeau/ Duncan valley; and Tudor Rutherglenn of Longbeach, Kootenay Lake West Arm;
- Robert Watt of the Sinixt/Arrow Lakes Nation and Jackie Heywood, both of Vallican;
- writers Eileen Delehanty Pearkes, of Nelson, and Art Joyce, also of Nelson;
- Anne Morton, Reference Archivist, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg;
- Staff of: the British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Victoria; the University of Victoria Library; the Legislative Library, Victoria; the Victoria Public Library; the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C.; and the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library, London, England.

We acknowledge with thanks the professional support that has been provided to us by Columbia Power Corporation staff in both their Victoria and Castlegar offices.

Portions of a preliminary draft of this report were written by historian Mark Cox, working under our direction, and his contributions to this work are gratefully acknowledged. We have also appreciated the help of research assistants Jason Locke and Barbara McDonell.

Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy
April, 2005

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

In November 1972, the late Charlie Quintasket from the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State walked into our office in Victoria. Speaking in his Native language, Mr. Quintasket identified himself as a "Lakes" Indian and told us that he was interested in finding out why the Lakes people had no Indian Reserves in British Columbia. We could not answer his question. Even though we were then actively engaged in ethnographic and linguistic work with Okanagan speakers in British Columbia, we knew almost nothing about the Lakes. All we knew in 1972 was that the Lakes people spoke a dialect of the Okanagan-Colville language and that they used to live in the Arrow Lakes region of B.C.

It was Charlie Quintasket's visit in 1972 that sparked our interest in the Lakes people.[4] We examined the ethnographic information that had been published on the Lakes, and found that relatively little existed, and even less discussed their traditional lifeways. James Teit's posthumously-published volume on the Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (Teit 1930b) identified the "Lake" as one of four distinct tribes within what he termed the "Okanagon" group. Teit's monograph included Lakes ethnographic data, including what he believed to be a full set of Lakes villages and main camps in British Columbia. A 1936 article by the late Verne Ray also identified the Lakes as a separate group. Ray's (1936b) article included a list of Lakes place names and a map of Lakes territory. More recently, Wilson Duff (1965:32) had identified the Lakes as an "Okanagan-speaking tribe now centred south of border on Colville Reservation." According to Duff, the Lakes had occupied the Arrow Lakes area but were now "extinct" in British Columbia.

None of these works, however, provided the information needed to answer Charlie Quintasket's question — what had happened to the Lakes people in British Columbia?

Gradually, we began to acquire the Lakes data necessary to answer this question. A small start was made in 1975 when we recorded some data pertaining to Lakes people from Colville and Lakes elders on the Colville Reservation, during the course of our studies which then focused on place names, fishing, and plant use. Much more comprehensive work began in 1978, when we commenced ethnographic fieldwork for a major study of the traditional aboriginal use of the area now covered by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake (this huge lake was formerly that part of the Columbia River in Washington State that had been inundated after 1940 when construction of the Grand Coulee Dam was completed). Charlie Quintasket, with whom we had maintained contact since 1972, was one of our principal Lakes consultants for that study. He and other Lakes elders living on the Colville Indian Reservation were very certain that the Lakes people's ancestral homeland was the "Arrow Lakes," and that Lakes territory extended as far south of the international border as Kettle Falls, Washington.

It became apparent during this 1978 fieldwork that our Lakes consultants' knowledge of the Arrow Lakes came primarily from oral tradition passed on by parents and grandparents. Their own experiences were almost entirely south of the border, where they and their parents had always lived, mostly in the Kelly Hill area near Kettle Falls. While some of them had travelled up around Rossland with their parents to pick huckleberries (until approximately1930), none of them was familiar with the Arrow Lakes region, and two had never even been "up to Canada", little more than 30 kilometres (about 20 miles) north from Kelly Hill.

Between 1978 and 1984 we compiled a significant database of Lakes ethnographic data from our interviews with Lakes and Colville elders. Around this time, we also identified and obtained unpublished ethnographic and ethnohistoric data pertaining to the Lakes. Most of these data came from a wide variety of public repositories in both the United States and Canada.[5] Important original data came courtesy of the late Professor W.W. Elmendorf who, in 1977, had generously provided us with copies of his unpublished Lakes ethnographic data gathered in 1935-1936. Only a portion of these Lakes data were incorporated into our Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake monographs (Bouchard and Kennedy 1979; 1984a), since that entire study area lay south of the international border.

In 1985, the British Columbia Heritage Conservation Branch (as it was then called) commissioned us to prepare a synthesis of Lakes Indian ethnography and history for use in the interpretation of the Vallican archaeological site in the Slocan Valley. This report (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a) presented much more of our British Columbia Lakes data. In addition, we undertook further extensive archival research in the B.C. Archives and Records Service in Victoria, and in a number of local and more specialized repositories.[6] Some of the elderly Lakes people with whom we had worked previously were re-interviewed, and one new Lakes consultant was met and interviewed (the Lakes people who contributed in 1975-1985 to our understanding of their history and culture are identified in the Acknowledgements section of the present study).

Our 1985 Lakes report, entitled "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a), although never formally published, has been widely distributed. It has been deposited in numerous public repositories, and has been relied on extensively as a source document (see, for example, Parent 1991; Pryce 1999; Morran 1999; 2000a; 2000b; Delehanty Pearkes 1999; 2000; 2002; Joyce 2000; Gordon 2004 — see also Section 2.1 of the present report).

As well, our 1985 Lakes report has been relied on in litigation relating to Lakes people's aboriginal interests, in the Provincial Court of B.C., the Supreme Court of B.C., and the Federal Court of Canada.

We rely again on portions of our 1985 report in the present study, although we have taken the opportunity to revise and add to some of the information previously compiled. This present report reflects our current views on the ethnography and ethnohistory of the Lakes people.

Before, during and after the preparation of our Lakes studies in the 1970s-1980s, we engaged in ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and linguistic research among the Okanagan and the Shuswap. This Okanagan research began in 1966, and the Shuswap research began in 1969 (the numerous reports and publications generated by this research are cited in the References section of the present study). Our research has included inquiries concerning areas traditionally used by the Okanagan and Shuswap people. For instance, in the preparation of another 1985 study (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b) that was undertaken immediately following our 1985 Lakes report (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a), we interviewed Shuswap people about their knowledge and use of the Sicamous-Revelstoke and Upper Arrow Lake areas. During the preparation of these reports relating to the Okanagan and Shuswap, we undertook extensive reviews of both published and unpublished ethnographic and ethnohistoric data.

We did comparatively little work with the Kutenai before the 1990s, although we did some work with Kutenai elders between 1972 and 1975.

We have not interviewed Kalispel elders. For both Kalispel and Kutenai, we have relied in this study on the available published and unpublished literature.

This broad background became particularly significant in view of the importance in recent years of considering the question of evidence of traditional aboriginal use of the West Kootenay region. We first considered this issue in detail during the preparation of our 1985 Lakes report, in which we assessed the available evidence respecting the traditional territories of the Okanagan, Shuswap, Kutenai and Colville — as well as the Lakes — in order to provide an impartial and comprehensive delineation of Lakes territory. We revisited this same subject several years later while preparing our article on the "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville" which was published in 1998 as part of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998). We have also addressed this subject in other recently-prepared reports for the Columbia Power Corporation (Bouchard, Kennedy and Cox 1998) and the Waneta Expansion Power Corporation (Bouchard and Kennedy 2004).

The numerous institutions where we undertook additional archival and library research while preparing and writing the present report, and the various local historians and other individuals who generously shared their knowledge with us, are all described in the preceding Acknowledgements Section.

We do not claim that our research has been exhaustive. Nevertheless, we do believe that the information presented here contributes substantively to what is known about the aboriginal history of the West Kootenay region.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study, the results of which are presented in this report, have been identified as follows:

- compile ethnographic, ethnohistoric and linguistic data pertinent to the various portions of the study region, as specified in Figure 1 showing the locations of areas "C, S, P, K and D" within "British Columbia's Lower Kootenay/ Columbia Hydropower Region;"
- identify gaps in the existing ethnographic and ethnohistoric information and undertake additional library and archival research, including research at local institutions within the study area, to supplement data already on file;
- organize the aboriginal land and resource use data within the specified areas of the defined study region.

REPORT STRUCTURE

This report is set out in two parts consisting of a total of nine Sections. Part One comprises Sections 3.0 to 7.0 inclusive, and Part Two comprises 8.0 to 9.0 inclusive.

Section One sets out the context of this report, lists the study objectives, and identifies the aboriginal groups whose cultural history has been investigated. This first section also includes a short discussion of "traditional use sites" — places of cultural significance to aboriginal people. As well, Section One contains a brief review of contemporary aboriginal claims to lands and resources within the study region.

Section Two provides a literature review of the available sources of information that we have considered in our review of aboriginal land use in

the Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region.

Sections 3.0 to 7.0 of Part One present an introduction to the Native history of each of the identified areas in the study region. Each Section begins with a general discussion of the aboriginal peoples said to have used and/or occupied the area, followed by a discussion focussed on individual places associated with aboriginal land use within the specific area. The order in which the areas are reviewed is as follows:

- Area C: Lower Columbia / Arrow Lakes;
- Area S: Slocan River and Slocan Lake;
- Area P: Salmo River and the lower Pend d'Oreille River;
- Area K: Kootenay River (from its confluence with the Columbia), West Arm of Kootenay Lake, Kootenay Lake, and the Kootenay River between Kootenay Lake and the U.S. border, including Creston;
- Area D: Duncan / Lardeau.

Part Two, encompassing Section 8.0, presents cultural summaries describing aspects of traditional Native practises that are important to an analysis of land and resource use in the study region. The aboriginal groups described include those having a direct traditional relationship with the study region — the Lakes (Okanagan), the Kutenai and the Kalispel.[7]

Section 9.0 lists the references cited in this present report.

LAKES, OKANAGAN, KUTENAI, SHUSWAP AND KALISPEL LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

This section discusses the linguistic and cultural affiliations of the Lakes, Okanagan, Kutenai, Shuswap and Kalispel, the five Native groups identified as having possibly used and/or occupied the present study region.

1.3.1 Lakes Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations

"Lakes" is one of the dialects of the Okanagan-Colville language. This language, known by its Native speakers as *nsilxtsín* ('people's speech'), is spoken both in British Columbia and Washington State, and is one of several related languages comprising the Interior Salish division of the Salishan Language Family (see also Section 1.3.2 of the present report).

In the 18th century, the core territory of the Lakes extended along the Columbia River between Revelstoke and the vicinity of Northport, Washington (located about seven miles south of the Canada/U.S. border), and included the Arrow Lakes and Slocan Lake areas (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:238-240) (see Figure 5).[8]

The "Lakes" Indians acquired this English name from the fur traders who reached this area of the Upper Columbia in the early 1800s. The name was bestowed because the group's territory, defined by the waterways on which they travelled, was centred in the Arrow Lakes region.

Culturally, the Lakes are classified as part of the Plateau Culture Area (Kennedy and Bouchard 1985a:1208-1210; 1998:238-252; Walker 1998: 1-7).

The Lakes people's own name for themselves, in the Okanagan-Colville language, is *sngaytskstx*,

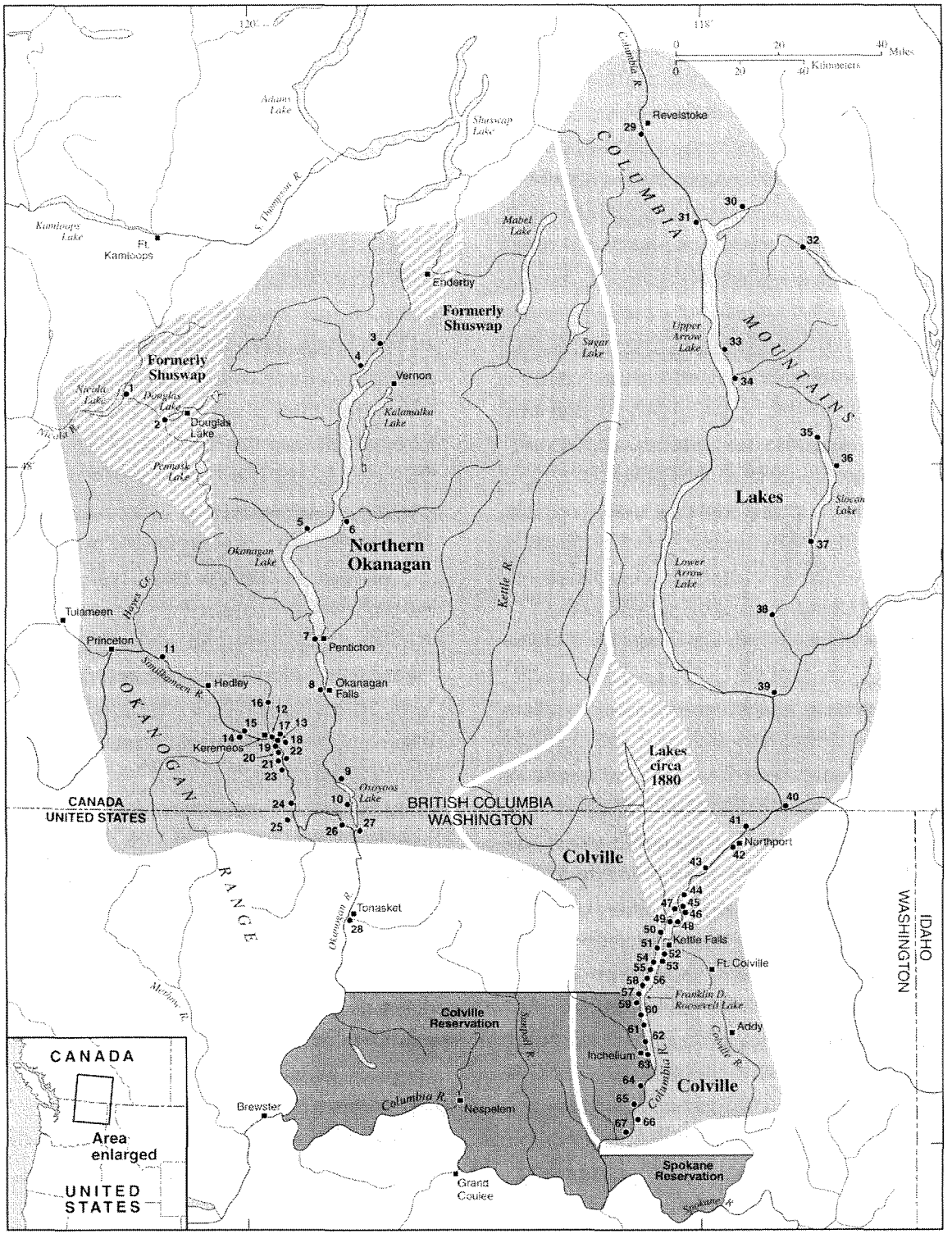


Figure 5. Northern Okanagan, Lakes and Colville territory, late 19th and 20th centuries. Page 240, In, Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 12, Plateau (Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville, by Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard). Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1998.

which translates as 'Dolly Varden people.' This term, *sngaytskstx*, is derived from the word *gaytskst*, which is the Okanagan-Colville name for the Dolly Varden char (*Salvelinus malma*), a fish for which the Arrow Lakes region was noted (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:6; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:251).[9] This same fish has recently been reclassified as *Salvelinus confluentus*, known commonly as the "bull trout" (Hildebrand 1999:pers.comm.).[10]

Numerous transcriptions of the term *sngaytskstx* appear in the ethnohistoric record to identify the Lakes Indian people. The fur trader Alexander Ross, who worked for the Northwest Company, seems to have been the first person to record an identification of the Lakes people by a transcription of their Native name.[11] In September 1821, Ross compiled a map of the overall Columbia Basin region which identified the Lakes people as the "*Sin natch eggs*" (Ross 1821; Wheat 1958:107).[12] George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, referred to them as "*Sinachicks*" when he travelled through the Arrow Lakes in 1824 (Merk 1968). Hudson's Bay Company men John Work and William Tolmie also transcribed the name, Work recording it as "*Sinaetcht*" in 1830 (Work 1830), and Tolmie as "*Sinahoiluk*" in 1864 (Tolmie 1864). A member of John Palliser's 1857-1860 Exploration Expedition transcribed the name as "*Sanihk*" (Spry 1968:480). Charles Wilson, a member of the British Boundary Commission who gave a paper on the tribes in the boundary area to the Ethnological Society of London in 1864, referred to these people as "*Sinuitskistux*" (Wilson 1866:275-332). An 1870 report by William P. Winans to the American Secretary of the Interior transcribed the name as "*Sen-i-jex-tee*" (Winans 1870a). The Jesuits of the St. Regis Provincial Mission variously used the words "*Snaichist*" or "*Snaichisti*" between 1879 and 1893 (Saint Regis Mission House Diary 1879; 1893).

The term *sngaytskstx* was also transcribed by anthropologists and ethnographers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. George Dawson called the Lakes the "*S-na-a-chikst*" (Dawson 1892:6). Franz Boas transcribed their name as "*Snaai'tckstq̓*" (Boas c.1900). Among the transcriptions used by Teit were: "*Snāi´.tcEkstEx*" or "*Snrai´tcEkstEx*" (Teit 1910-1913); "*Senijextee*" (Teit 1914:284); and "*Snai´tcEkst*" (Teit 1930b:199). James Mooney referred to them as the "*Senijextee*" (Mooney 1896:732), and Edward Curtis transcribed the name as "*Sĭnŭaítskstŭk*" (Curtis 1911:64). William W. Elmendorf used the term "*Sina´itskstx*" (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:1). Verne Ray's transcription of the term was "*Sna´itckstk^{u}*" (Ray 1936b:120).

We transcribed the name for the Lakes people as "*snʕayckstx*" (in the International Phonetic Alphabet) in our article on the Northern Okanagan, Lakes and Colville in the Plateau Volume of the Handbook of North American Indians (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:251), but in virtually all our other work — including the present study — we transcribe this term as *sngaytskstx*.[13]

1.3.2 Okanagan Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations

The term "Okanagan-Colville" is used to describe the language known by these Native people as *nsilxtsín*, which means 'people's speech' (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:238).[14] Okanagan-Colville is one of the several related languages comprising the Interior Salish division of the Salishan language family. The seven Interior Salish languages can be divided on the basis of lexical and structural similarities into two groups: a northwestern (northern) group consisting of Lillooet, Thompson and Shuswap; and a southeastern (southern) group consisting of

Okanagan-Colville [sometimes called "Colville-Okanagan," or just "Okanagan"], Columbian, Coeur d'Alene, and Kalispel [sometimes referred to as "Spokane-Kalispel- Flathead"] (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby and Aoki 1998:51-52; Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:4; Kroeber 1999:4-5).

Culturally, the Okanagan-Colville are classified as part of the Plateau Culture Area (Kennedy and Bouchard 1985a:1208-1210; 1998: 238-252; Walker 1998:1-7).

The hyphenated name "Okanagan-Colville" is derived from the identification of this same language both as "Okanagan" — spelled "Okanogan" in the United States — and as "Colville." The probable maximum total area used by speakers of the Okanagan-Colville language was approximately 72,500 square kilometres (about 28,000 square miles), about 70 per cent of which lies within British Columbia, with the remaining 30 per cent in Washington State (Bouchard and Kennedy 1979:7; 1984a:39; Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:1) (see Figure 6).

We distinguish seven dialects of Okanagan-Colville: Northern Okanagan, spoken by Native people living in villages along Okanagan Lake and the Okanagan River drainage; Similkameen Okanagan, spoken, at least since the early 1700s, by people residing along the Similkameen River drainage system; Southern Okanogan, spoken along the lower Okanogon River in the United States; Methow, spoken by people living along the Methow River, who are interrelated with speakers of the Columbian language; Sanpoil-Nespelem, spoken by those whose villages extended along the Columbia River from Grand Coulee to Rogers Bar and along the Sanpoil River and lower Spokane River; Colville, along the Columbia River from near Northport south to Rogers Bar, and in the Colville Valley; and Lakes, spoken by people residing (or formerly residing) along the Columbia River from Northport to Revelstoke, including the Arrow Lakes and Slocan Lake areas.[15]

Present-day speakers of Okanagan-Colville indicate that in the past, clearly-recognized linguistic differences among all these dialects existed.[16] However, at the present time, because the language is spoken by relatively few people, the only significant dialect difference which appears to remain is between the "Colville" dialect continuum (Sanpoil-Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes) and the "Okanagan" dialect continuum (Northern, Southern and Similkameen Okanagan, and Methow) (Bouchard and Kennedy 1979:6-7; Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:1-2; Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:39; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:238).

In Canada, speakers of the Okanagan dialect belong to seven British Columbia First Nations (Bands) forming the "Okanagan Nation Alliance" and living on Indian Reserves located from as far south as the International Boundary to as far north as Douglas Lake, as follows: Lower Similkameen Indian Band; Upper Similkameen Indian Band; Osoyoos Indian Band; Penticton Indian Band; Westbank First Nation; Okanagan (Head of the Lake) Indian Band; and, Upper Nicola Indian Band.

In the United States, the Southern Okanogan, Methow, Nespelem, Sanpoil, Colville and Lakes comprise five of the twelve "tribes" identified collectively as the "Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation" living in northeastern Washington State.

The Northern Okanagan have no name to distinguish themselves from the Southern Okanagan — the Native term *ukwnak̲ínx* (meaning '*ukwnak̲ín* ["Okanagan"] people') refers to all those Native Indian people living along the Okanagan River drainage from Vernon in the

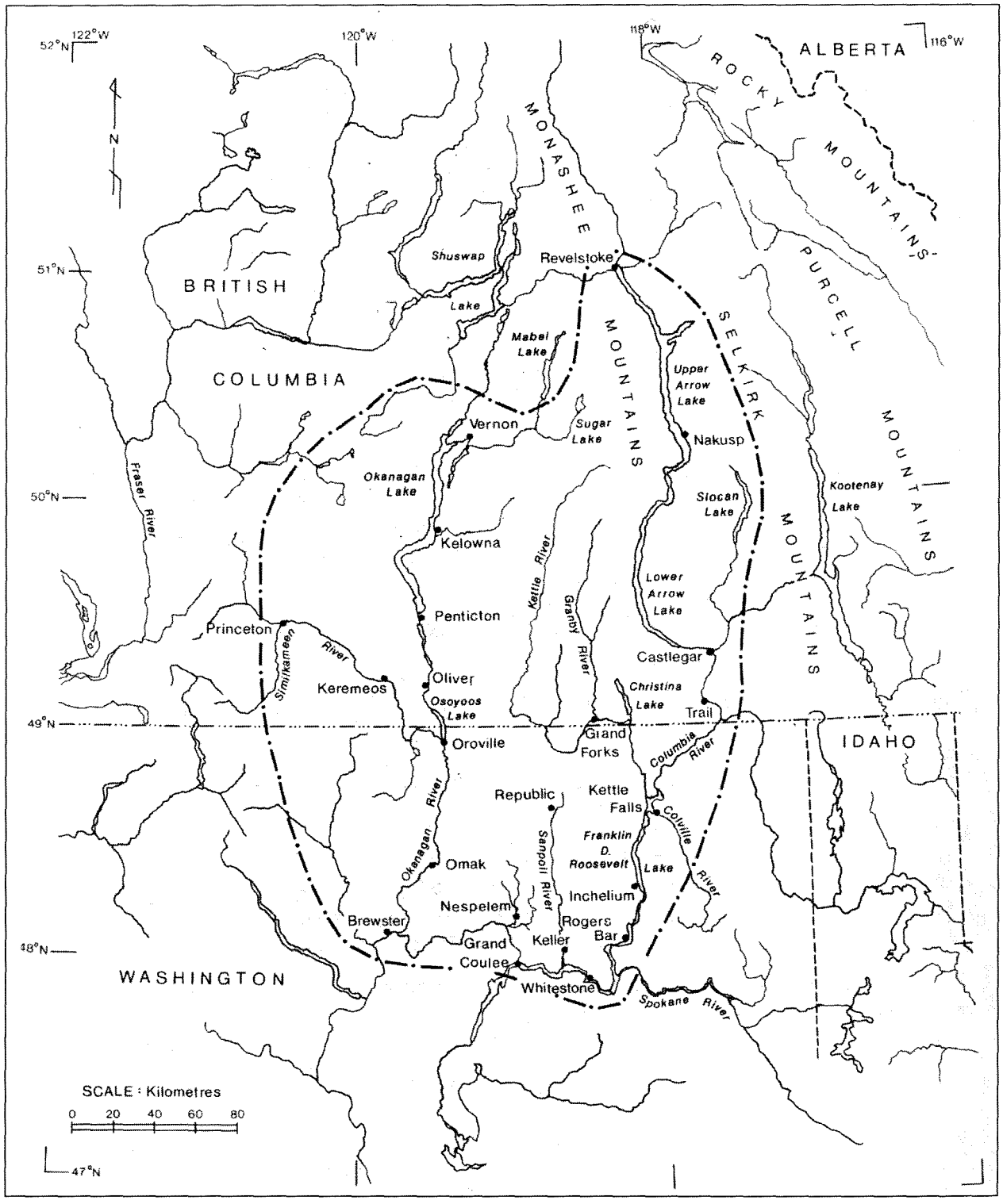


Figure 6. Okanagan-Colville territory. Map prepared by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy. Page x, In, Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville Indians of British Columbia and Washington, by Nancy J. Turner, Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy. Published by the B.C. Provincial Museum (Occasional Paper Series, No. 21), Victoria, 1980.

north to Brewster (in Washington State) in the south, an area encompassing both "Northern Okanagan" and "Southern Okanagan." The word *ukwnakín*, from which the term *ukwnakínx* is derived, is said to identify an ancestral home site, although there is little agreement on its location (Dawson 1892:6; Curtis 1911:7:65; Teit 1930b:198-199,264; Spier 1938:73; Bouchard and Kennedy 1984b; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:251).

One of the first written identifications and transcriptions of the term *ukwnakín* was recorded in an 1811 account written by Northwest Company fur trader Alexander Ross, who identified the "*Oakinacken*" [*ukwnakín*] as one of the twelve "tribes" of the "great *Oakinacken* nation." Ross noted that the "*Oakinacken* tribe" resided "nearly in the centre" of the overall territory of the "*Oakinacken* nation" but gave no further information as to where this "tribe" was actually living (Ross 1849:286-290). Subsequent transcriptions of *ukwnakín* from various sources include: "*Teek-a-nog-gan*;" "*Okanăkans*;" "*Ookanawgan*;" "*Okiakanes*;" "*Okinakanes*;" "*Okinagenes*;" "*Okanā´qēn*;" and "*WEkanaqa´n*" (Dawson 1892:6; Teit 1930b:198-199,264; Spier 1938:73; Curtis 1911:7:65; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:251).

1.3.3 Kutenai Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations

The Kutenai or "Ktunaxa" people speak the Kutenai language.[17] Most linguists identify Kutenai as a "linguistic isolate" meaning that it is not related to any other known language (Kinkade et al. 1998:49-52).[18] However, linguist Lawrence Morgan, who has studied the Kutenai language since the late 1960s and whose Master's thesis and Doctoral dissertation are both on the Kutenai language, is of the opinion that "Kutenai is remotely and genetically related to the Salishan languages" (Morgan 1991:494).[19]

Two major social divisions of Kutenai — "Upper Kutenai" and "Lower Kutenai" — are recognized. These distinctions, which correspond with two slightly divergent dialects of the Kutenai language, are made with reference to the course of the Kootenay River. Upper Kutenai is spoken along the upper course of the Kootenay River both in British Columbia and Montana, whereas Lower Kutenai is spoken along this river's lower course, both in B.C. and Idaho (Morgan 1991:3; Brunton 1998:225). The dividing line between Lower and Upper Kutenai has been identified as Kootenai Falls, near Troy, Montana (Coues 1897:2:709-710; A.Smith 1984:24,29-30) (see Figures 7 and 8).

"Kutenai" is an anglicization of the term "*kotonáwa*," a word used by the Blackfoot to refer to the Kutenai people. Apparently the term "*kotonáwa*" is based on a root "*kotóna-*" which itself may ultimately be derived from the Kutenai word "*ktunaxa?*" (written as "Ktunaxa"). "*Ktunaxa?*" and "*ksanka*" are the two words in the Kutenai language which are used to describe the Kutenai people as a whole, as well as the language. The Montana Kutenai in particular use the word "*ksanka*" while other Kutenai people generally use the term "*ktunaxa?*" (Morgan 1991:1-2).

According to Morgan, two possible etymologies have been recorded for the term "*ktunaxa?*." One, suggested by Boas, relates to a verb meaning 'to go out into the open' (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:344). A second etymology for "*ktunaxa?*" was suggested to Morgan by one of his Kutenai linguistic consultants, and relates to a verb which means 'to eat lean meat' (Morgan 1991:2). Still another etymology relates to a verb meaning 'to pull a hide legging over the nose of a canoe' (Schaeffer 1935, in, Brunton 1998:236).[20]

The exact relationship between the terms

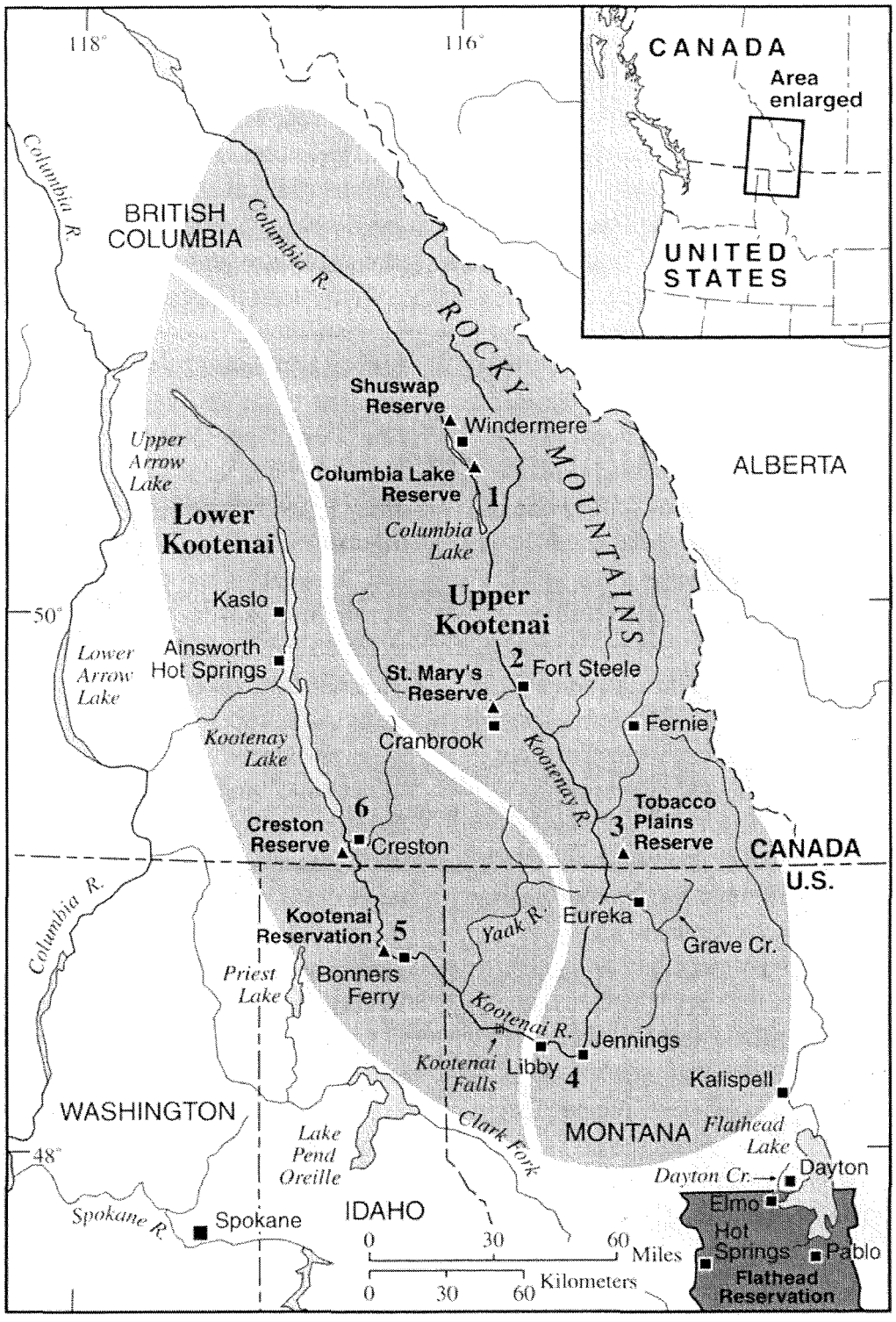


Figure 7. Kootenai [Kutenai] territory at contact in 1792, with modern reservations and reserves. Page 223, In, Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 12, Plateau (Kootenai, by Bill B. Brunton). Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1998.

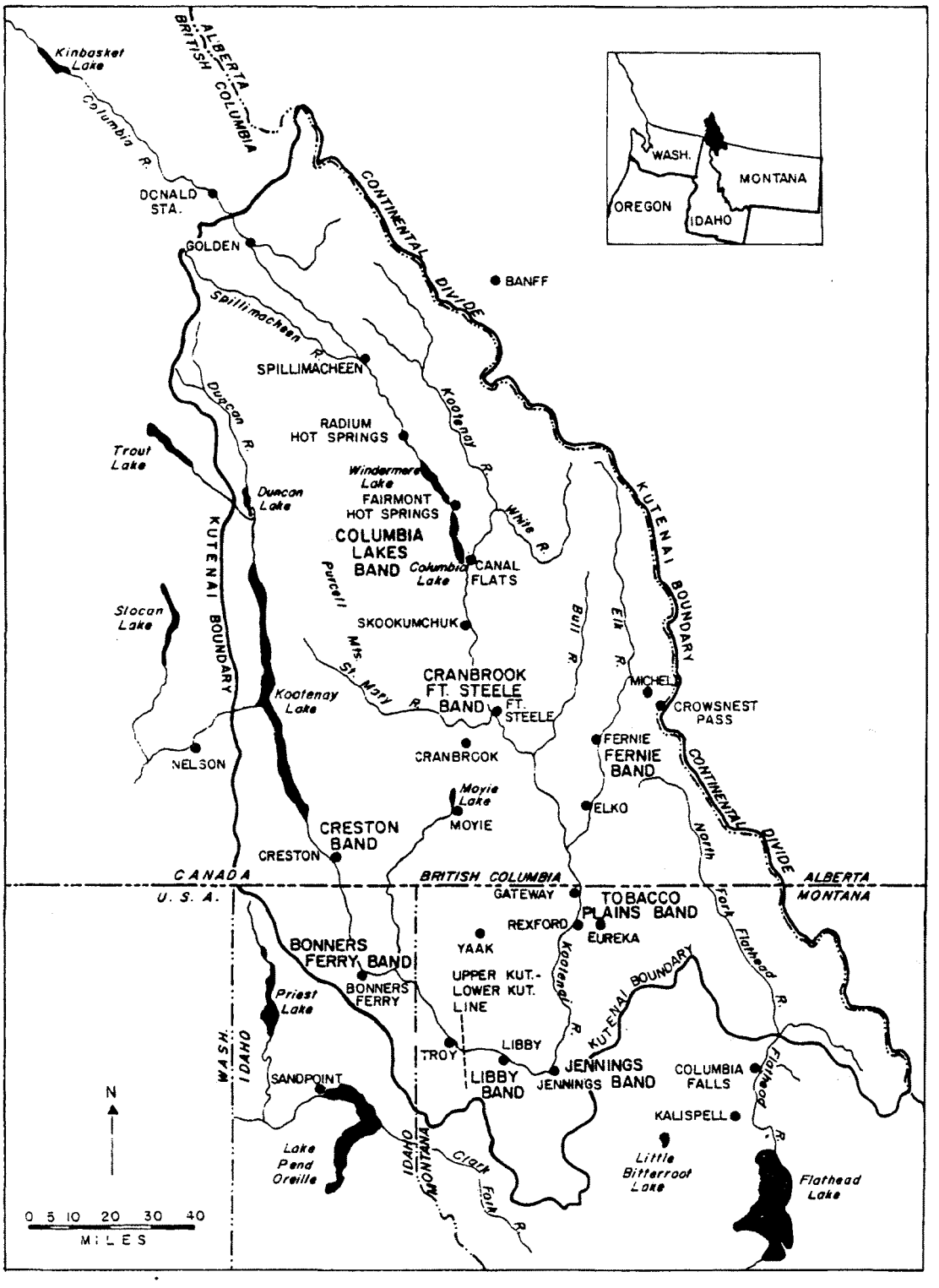


Figure 8. Approximate boundaries of traditional Kutenai territory. Map prepared by Allan H. Smith. Page 24, In, Kutenai Indian Subsistence and Settlement Patterns, Northwest Montana, by Allan H. Smith. Published by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Seattle, Washington, 1984.

"*Ktunaxa?*" and "*ksanka*" is not certain, although there appears to have been a correlation between "*ksanka*" and the Lower Kutenai. For example, Turney-High recorded that all Kutenai, and particularly the Lower Kutenai, used the term "*sán'ka*" to describe themselves. The Lower Kutenai, according to Turney-High, "invariably use this term and never consciously or unconsciously use any of the *ktunáxa* or *tunáxa* derivatives." He noted that the Upper Kutenai sometimes used the *ktunáxa* term (Turney-High 1941:12). Much the same information was noted by Curtis, who did his field work more than thirty years before Turney-High. Curtis (1911:119) said that the proper name of the tribe is "*Ksánka,*" although "*Kitunáha*" was heard among the northern band. Anthropologist Bill Brunton notes that Montana Kutenai (which he spells as "Kootenai") use the term "*ksanka*" for both "themselves and for all Kootenais." Brunton states as well his view that "it is possible that *ksanka* originally applied only to the Lower Kootenai while *ktunaxa* applied to the Upper Kootenai" (Brunton 1998:236).

Several subgroups or "bands" have been identified within the larger Upper Kutenai and Lower Kutenai social divisions of the Kutenai (see Section 6.1 of the present report for a discussion of these subgroups). For the purposes of this study, however, we need only to be concerned with the Lower Kutenai of the Creston, Kootenay Lake, and lower Kootenay River as far south as the U.S. border. The Kutenai name for this subgroup of the Lower Kutenai is transcribed in Brunton's (1998:226) article as "*ʔaʼǩaq̓ ɬahaɬxu.*" This term has been translated as 'people of the lake' (Chamberlain n.d.e), 'swamp people' (Schaeffer 1935, in Chalfant 1974b:51), or 'meadow people' (Brunton 1998:226). Another Kutenai term, "*yaqan nukiy*" ('the people where the rock is standing'), has recently been provided to identify the "Lower Kootenay band near Creston" (Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council 1999)

Culturally, the Kutenai are classified as part of the Plateau Culture Area, as are the other groups discussed in the present report (Walker 1998:1-7; Brunton 1998:223-237).

1.3.4 Shuswap Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations

"Shuswap" is an anglicization of the Native term *sxwapmx*,[21] and is the term used to refer collectively to speakers of the Shuswap language. In a general sense, *sxwapmx* means 'Shuswap people.' [22] This term, *sxwapmx*, is transcribed as "*secwepemc*" in the writing system used by the Kamloops-based Secwepemc Cultural Education Society.

The Shuswap language is classified as part of the Interior Salish division of the Salishan Language Family. Interior Salish is further divided into a northern group consisting of the Shuswap, Lillooet and Thompson languages (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby and Aoki 1998:51; Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:4). Although these three languages are mutually incomprehensible, they are closely related.

The main dialect division within the Shuswap language is between the Eastern dialect spoken around Chase and areas farther east, and the Western dialect spoken in the vicinity of Kamloops, the North Thompson and areas farther west (Bouchard and Draney 1970; Bouchard, August and Willard 1973; Kennedy and Bouchard 1975a; Kuipers 1982; 1989:7,9; Boelscher Ignace 1998:203; Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby and Aoki 1998:56).[23] The Shuswap term *xkaltk*, meaning 'east,' is used to delineate the area where the Eastern dialect of Shuswap is spoken. A division between the Kamloops and Chase dialects is recognized in the Monte Creek/Lion's Head

vicinity (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975a; Kuipers 1989:7).[24]

The earliest known ethnohistorical references to the Shuswap people were recorded by Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 (Lamb 1970) and by Simon Fraser in 1808 (Lamb 1960). Both of these explorers referred to the Shuswap as "Atnah," a Carrier Athapaskan term used to identify the Shuswap people as well as other non-Carrier groups.[25] Alexander Mackenzie identified Shuswap in the vicinity of Alexandria[26] on the Fraser River as "Atnah" (Lamb 1970:318-322).[27] Arrowsmith's map based on Mackenzie's travels (Lamb 1970:238-239), and another map tentatively dated 1804 (Anon. [1804]),[28] identified the location of this "Atnah Nation" in an area in the approximate vicinity of Soda Creek.[29] Simon Fraser also encountered "Atnah" Indians in May 1808, in the vicinity of Soda Creek, and recorded a few Shuswap words from the "Atnahs" living in the general area where Chimney Creek and Riske Creek enter into the Fraser River (Lamb 1960:63-67, 131-143). David Stuart of the Pacific Fur Company identified the "*She Whaps*" along the South Thompson River in November 1811 (Ross 1849:151). In May of 1812, Alexander Ross of the same company also identified "the *She Whaps* on Thompson's River" (Ross 1849:199-200).[30]

Culturally, the Shuswap are classified as part of the Plateau Culture Area (Walker 1998:1-7; Boelscher Ignace 1998:203-219) (see Figure 9).

1.3.5 Kalispel Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations

Kalispel is a dialect of a language comprising, together with Okanagan-Colville, Columbia, and Coeur d'Alene, the southeastern group of the Interior Salish division of the Salishan Language Family. Kalispel is sometimes referred to by linguists as "Spokane-Kalispel- Flathead" (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby and Aoki 1998:52; Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:2-5). There are three recognized dialects of this language — Kalispel, Flathead, and Spokane — with each of these dialects representing distinct points on the language chain: Kalispel along the Pend Oreille River from northeastern Washington (as well as a small area of B.C. near the Salmo River/Pend'Oreille River confluence) into western Montana, by way of the Clark Fork River; Flathead in Montana west of the Rocky Mountains; and Spokane along the Spokane River (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby and Aoki 1998:51; Carlson and Flett 1989:iii; Lahren 1994:283; 1998:283-284; Malouf 1998:297-298; Ross 1998:271). Although Kalispel, Flathead, and Spokane have sometimes been referred to as if they were separate languages,[31] they are actually dialect divisions of one language (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:5).

No indigenous name appears to exist for the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead language. Linguists Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998:4) suggest that this is because the language unit recognized by linguists reflected no known political or social division, and thus, no indigenous name ever appears to have been used by the communities. The indigenous name of the Kalispel dialect has been recorded as "*Qalispe*" or "*qlispél*" (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:67; Lahren 1998:296). The etymology of this term is uncertain (Lahren 1998:296).

The terms Kalispel and Pend d'Oreille are frequently treated as synonyms in the ethnohistorical literature, with the terms being used somewhat interchangeably to describe one group, or the other, or both (Work 1830; Heron and Kittson 1830-1831; De Smet 1843:335-337; Chittenden and Richardson 1905:470-474, 764-765, 995-996; Hodge 1907:646-647; Lahren 1994:283; 1998:296).(See also Section 5.1).

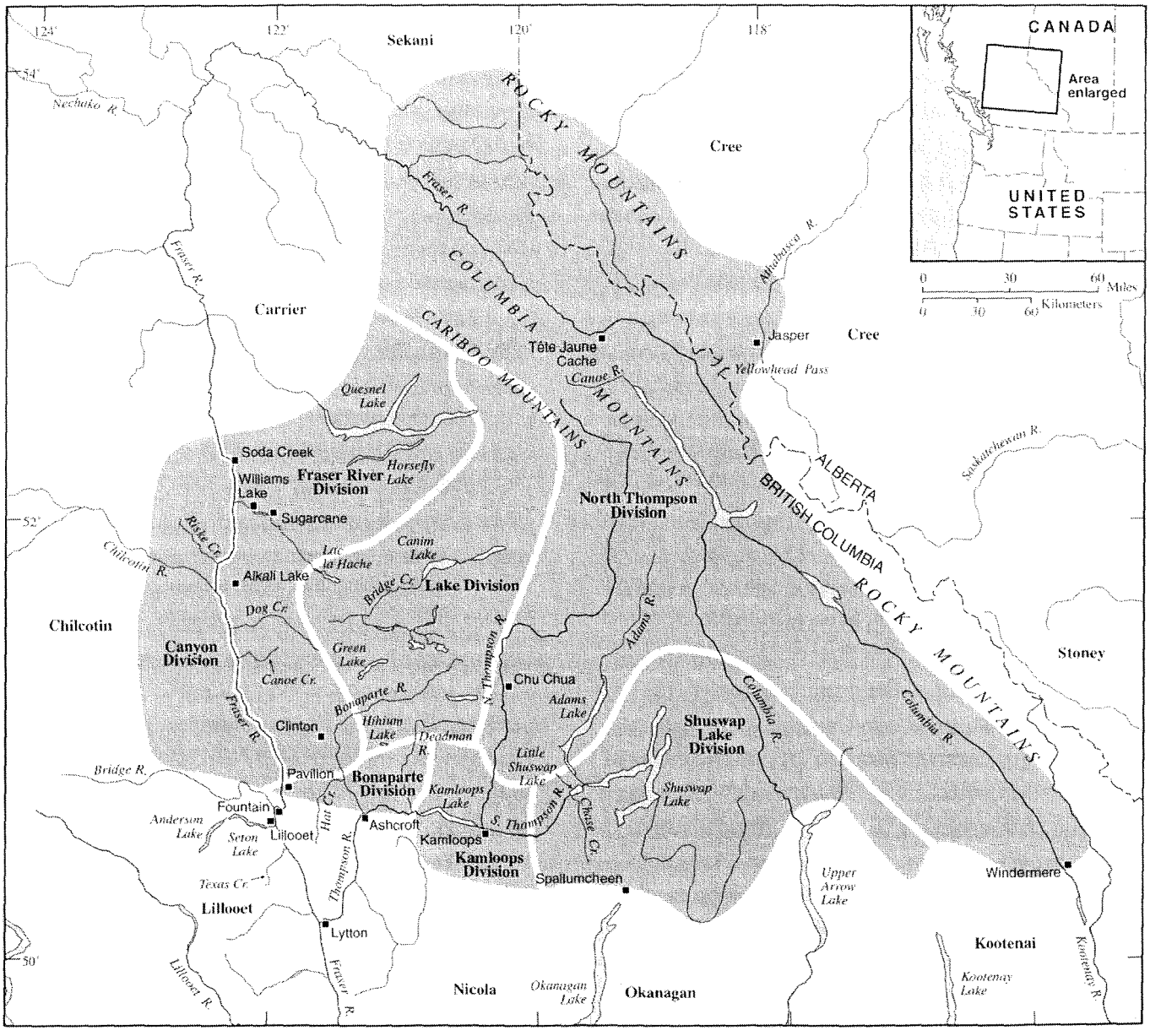


Figure 9. Shuswap Territory in the 19th century (based on Teit 1909). Page 204, In, Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 12, Plateau (Shuswap, by Marianne Boelscher Ignace). Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1998.

Culturally, the Kalispel, like the Okanagan, Shuswap and Kootenay, are classified as part of the Plateau Culture Area (Walker 1998: 1-7; Lahren 1998) (see Figure 10).

PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

One of the purposes of this study is to document the locations of places of cultural significance to the aboriginal groups who traditionally used the study region, and to present the recorded ethnographic, ethnohistoric and linguistic data indicating what made each site culturally significant. Culturally-significant places are sometimes referred to as "Traditional Use Sites" (see Kennedy 2002). While the B.C. Ministry of Forests, Aboriginal Affairs Branch, facilitates studies which identify and classify sites using the typology recommended in its Traditional Use Study ("TUS")[32] Program Guidelines to provide a cultural framework for the identified sites, we have not used that site typology in this study. We do, nonetheless, emphasize the salience of named places as a measure of recognizing aboriginal people's use of specific places.

Our own wide-ranging experience, as well as that of other researchers who have been actively engaged in compiling land and resource use data, has been that place names are a good indicator of locations imprinted with cultural significance. Scholars of aboriginal cultures in North America conclude that the linguistically-accurate recording and analysis of place names provides an understanding of a people's sense of place, and therefore their sense of being. As linguist Jim Kari (1989:137) remarked with respect to Athabaskan speakers: "place names are a kind of index to which they attach all sorts of factual, historical and mythological information." [33]

Certainly neither ourselves nor any of these other scholars view place names as the *only* indicator of lands considered culturally significant by aboriginal people. Scholars have found, however, that place names reflect cultural principles which illustrate a people's cognitive relationship with these broader surroundings. Tilley (1994:18) clearly notes this when he says: "without a name, culturally significant sites would not exist, but only as a raw void, a natural environment." Thus, an accurate rendition of place names, together with the data indicating the salience of a place's traditional use, enhances understanding of Native people's perception and experience of place and their broader environmental relationship to the surrounding areas.

Native people also had a relationship with much broader territories than the specific sites identified by name. They used and occupied lands that we refer to commonly as their "traditional territory." Their use of such territory was not necessarily to the exclusion of other indigenous people, but this territory did contain a particular group's winter villages and customarily-used resource-harvesting sites.

In the present study, when we speak of a specific area being within the traditional territory of a certain people, we mean that the area was used primarily by these people and that they and other tribes regarded it as their territory. Indigenous people associated with other tribes may have used the same area, provided they made their presence and amicable intentions known, or travelled there as guests of the resident people. As discussed in this report, however, incursion into a neighbouring people's territory and exploitation of their resources was not uncommon, but, when done without permission, often resulted in forceful retaliation.

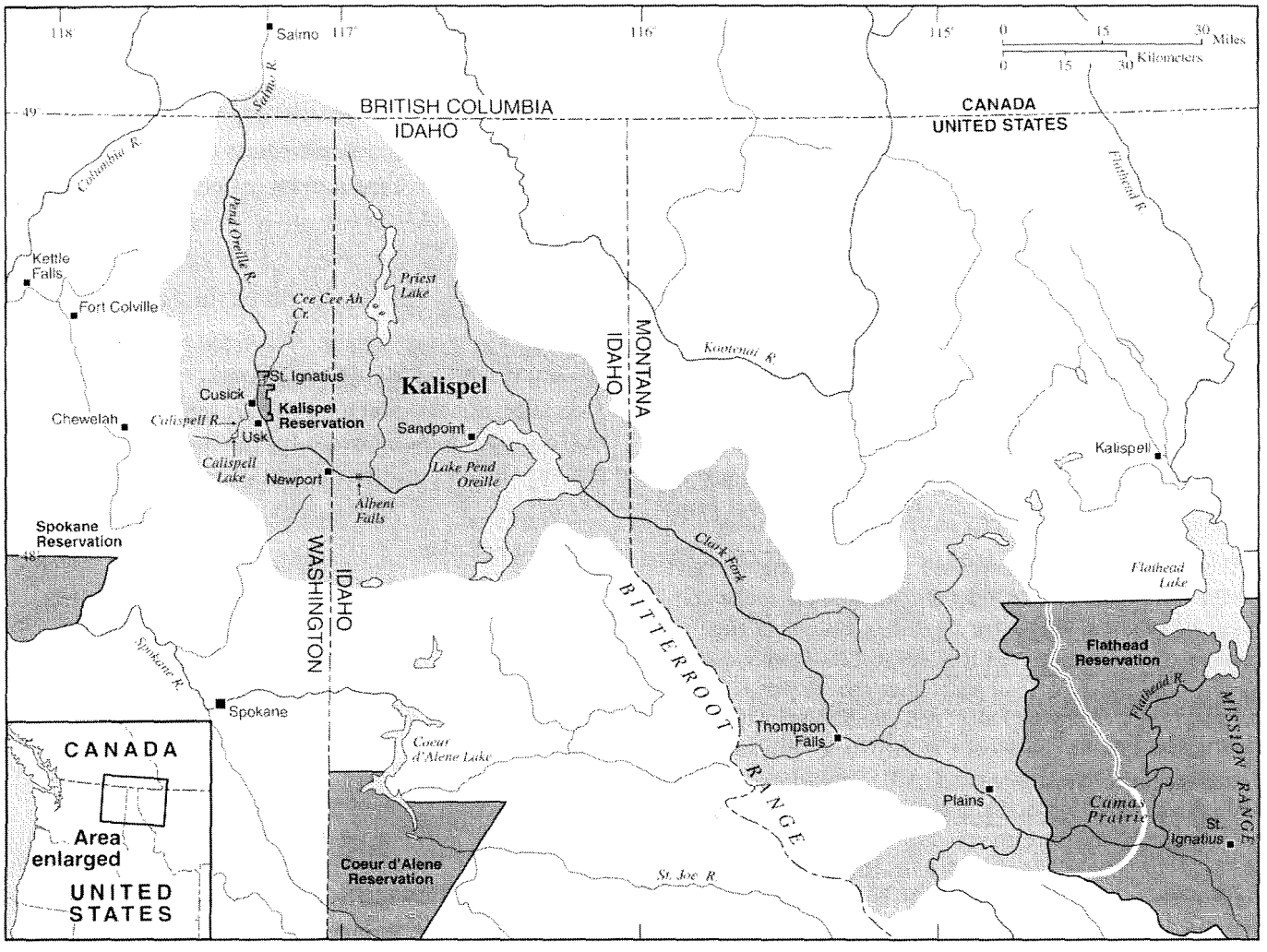


Figure 10. Aboriginal Kalispel territory with modern towns and reservations (from Allan H. Smith 1950). Page 284, In, Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 12, Plateau (Kalispel, by Sylvester L. Lahren, Jr.). Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1998.

Many named sites in the study area have been documented. It is very possible that the names of many others which were once important and well-known have been lost forever. This reflects limitations in the available recorded ethnographic data. While important early ethnographic work was done among the aboriginal peoples of the West Kootenays, this took place decades after considerable shifts in their primary settlements had occurred, with a consequent diminution in their use of the study area. In 1909, for example, James Teit recorded many Lakes place names from one of the few Lakes families still resident in the study area, but, even so, all his information came from a mother and daughter of a single family. Verne Ray's information in the 1920s came from a single person who was not resident in the study area, and the concentration of place names this man provided indicated that while he was very familiar with some parts of Lakes territory, like the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, he was relatively less familiar with other areas, like the Slocan Valley or the Arrow Lakes themselves. Many of the names presented by Ray appear to have been retranscribed from the work of Teit.

The locations of even fewer places named in the study area are recorded in the available Kutenai ethnographic studies. This reflects several things, including an emphasis in many of the Kutenai ethnographies on the Upper Kutenai, and a further emphasis in the ethnographic studies of the Lower Kutenai on the Bonner Falls area in the United States, rather than the Creston Kutenai. Moreover, while all the principal Lakes ethnographers — Teit, Ray, Elmendorf, and Bouchard and Kennedy — emphasized the recording of place names and associated land use data, it appears that the principal Kutenai ethnographers did not. Although Chamberlain recorded several place names in the 1890s, very few Kutenai place names were recorded by later ethnographers like Turney-High, Schaeffer, and Johnson.

We have identified a number of these culturally-significant sites from other data which we have not been able to identify with a recorded indigenous place name. These unnamed sites are thus identified only by their English name. Often the nature of the aboriginal use of these sites, however, suggests that their association with Native people was a long one. Just how long, nevertheless, is a question that can only be addressed by archaeological data, and although we occasionally make reference to extant archaeological information that complements the ethnographic and ethnohistoric data, the presentation of archaeological data has not been a focus of this report.

CONTEMPORARY FIRST NATIONS' CLAIMS TO THE STUDY REGION

Much of the Kootenay River/Columbia River Hydropower Region is the subject of contemporary, overlapping First Nations' claims. The following section summarizes these divergent claims, as presented by the First Nations, themselves, in correspondence to the Columbia Power Corporation and in other documents that have been made available.

That portion of the study region closest to the proposed Brilliant Powerplant Expansion Project, that is, the area in the environs of the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers, is within the territory claimed by several First Nations. The Sinixt/Arrow Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) Nation, based in the Slocan, relies largely upon anthropologist Verne Ray's (1936b) delineation of Lakes territory to include the Kettle River drainage, the Columbia River from below Kettle Falls, Washington, up to the Big Bend, including the

Arrow Lakes, the Slocan River and Slocan Lake, the Kootenay River from its confluence at Brilliant, up to and including the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, the west side of Kootenay Lake north from the West Arm, as well as Trout Lake and the Lardeau and Duncan Rivers (Sinixt/Arrow Lakes Nation 1999).

This same territorial map of Lakes territory by Ray (1936b) is relied on by the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation based in Nespelem, Washington, although the Colville Tribes also cite ethnographer James Teit's (1910-1913; 1930b) delineation of Lakes territory, which is less expansive than Ray's. The Business Council of the Colville Tribes advises that the area around the Columbia River/Kootenay River confluence is part of the homeland of the Lakes (*sngaytskstx* or Sinixt) Tribe which is one of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, and that it is *only* the Business Council of the Colville Tribes that represents the Lakes Tribe's interests — including issues pertaining to Aboriginal title and rights — on both sides of the U.S./Canada border (Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation 1998a; 1998b; 1998c).

The Okanagan Nation Alliance (ONA), formerly the Okanagan Tribal Council, which represents the Lower Similkameen, Upper Similkameen, Osoyoos, Penticton, Westbank, Okanagan (Head of the Lake) and Upper Nicola Bands/First Nations, claims an overall territory that includes the entire region of the Arrow Lakes people (as described above). Moreover, the ONA claims aboriginal title over Columbia Power Corporation's project lands (Okanagan Nation Alliance 1998a; 1998b; Maracle et al. 1993-1994:4-6). Within the Okanagan Nation Alliance, the Westbank First Nation asserts that its jurisdiction extends from the central Okanagan Valley east over the Monashee Mountains to include the upper half of Lower Arrow Lake, as well as Slocan Lake and part of the Slocan River (Westbank First Nation 1993).

Also claiming the Kootenay/Columbia confluence area is the Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council (KKTC) which represents the Ktunaxa Nation and Kinbasket peoples, comprising the Lower Kootenay, Tobacco Plains, St. Mary's, Columbia Lake and Shuswap Bands. The KKTC's delineation of their traditional territory extends to the west side of the Columbia River, all the way from the U.S. border northwards alongside the Arrow Lakes to the Big Bend, and east to the Continental Divide (Kutunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council 1993). As well, the Ktunaxa Nation filed a document in March 1998 in the Federal Court of Appeal which included the assertion that the Arrow Lakes region, "whatever other designation it may have, falls within the Aboriginal territory of the Ktunaxa nation," thus inferring shared exclusivity of aboriginal title with some other group(s) (Ktunaxa Nation 1998).

The Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC), representing 8 Shuswap-speaking Bands, advises that the Kootenay/Columbia confluence is within the unceded territory of the Secwepemc Nation but is an area traditionally shared by the Secwepemc, Ktunaxa and Okanagan Nations. It is the SNTC's position that aboriginal title in the area of the Kootenay/Columbia confluence remains unextinguished (Shuswap Nation Tribal Council 1998).

There appear to be no overlapping contemporary tribal claims to the lower portions of Kootenay Lake (south from the West Arm) and to the Creston area, including that portion of the Kootenay River between the U.S. border and Kootenay Lake — these areas are exclusively part of the Ktunaxa (specifically, Lower Kutenai) claim area.

As for the Salmo River area (including part of the Pend d'Oreille River), there is some overlap

here between traditional Lakes and traditional Kalispel territory. We do not know the position that the present-day Kalispel Tribe in the United States takes with respect to the Salmo River area of British Columbia.

SECTION 1.0 ENDNOTES

[1] The term "First Nation" has been introduced in Canada in recent years as a means of emphasizing aboriginal identity and sovereignty, and is increasingly being used by government agencies, indigenous groups, and the general public (the term "First Nation" is not used in the United States). As well, the terms "Native" and "Indian" (or, in the U.S., "Native American") are all used by many aboriginal people themselves. Thus in the present report we will use the terms "First Nation," "aboriginal," "indigenous," "Native," and "Indian."

"Ethnography" is a description of a particular culture based on observation and participation, and on interviews with members of that culture. Ethnographic data are often complemented with "ethnohistoric" information. "Ethnohistory" is a description of Native life and events in historic times, obtained from "archival" documents that have been deposited for safe-keeping in various institutions. Such documentary evidence includes field notes compiled by past ethnographers, observations by government and non-government personnel, including explorers, missionaries and local pioneers, and correspondence files of government agencies and members of the Native society, themselves. Archival data also include non-printed materials such as maps, photographs, and audio-tapes.

[2] Native terms in the Okanagan-Colville language appearing in the present report have been transcribed by Randy Bouchard in the practical writing system he developed for this Interior Salish language in the early 1970s, with the assistance of the late Larry Pierre of Penticton (Bouchard and Pierre 1973). A description of this writing system is published in Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy (1980:158-160) and in Bouchard and Kennedy (1984b:95-97). Terms not transcribed by Bouchard are written with double quotation marks; English translations appear in single quotation marks.

[3] The study that we undertook between 1979-1984 (see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a), including field research with Lakes people, was under contract to the Business Council of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, with funds provided by the United States Bureau of Reclamation. Our study undertaken between 1978-1979 (see Bouchard and Kennedy 1979), which also included Lakes research, was funded directly by the Bureau of Reclamation, while our research prior to 1978 was funded by a number of different Canadian funding agencies. Again we acknowledge with thanks both the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation for their funding support between 1978-1984, and the Colville Confederated Tribes' Business Council for their support between 1979-1984. In particular we again gratefully acknowledge the interest that was taken in this work by the late Dale Kohler, a Councilman for many years with the Colville Tribes.

Our present study places considerable reliance on the report we prepared in 1985 entitled "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a), which included the results of our additional Lakes field research. This 1985 report was commissioned by the British Columbia Heritage Conservation Branch (now known as the Archaeology Branch of the B.C. Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture), and we again acknowledge with thanks the Branch's financial support and interest (see also Section 1.0 that follows).

[4] Years later we would learn that in fact it was the late H.W. (Bert) Herridge, member of Parliament for Kootenay West, who was one of the first people — outside of Department of Indian Affairs staff — to raise the question in recent times of what had happened to the Lakes Indians of British Columbia. Bert Herridge wrote to W.J.F. Pratt, Secretary to the Minister of Mines and Resources in Ottawa, on March 19th, 1947 and stated:

During my boyhood days in the Kootenay

> West district there were a number of Indians of the Lake Tribe, resident in teepees at various points along the Arrow Lakes. Unfortunately today there is not a single survivor of these small groups alive to my knowledge...I would appreciate any information you have concerning any Reservation or Indian Rights held in the name of the Indians at the time of their existence, and the position of these Reservations and Rights today (Herridge 1947a).

Upon receiving an initial response to his request, Herridge wrote again and asked for more specific information (Herridge 1947b). Thus began a personal quest for Herridge that lasted until the time he died in 1973.

Herridge was kept well supplied with documents which outlined the demise of the Lakes people in British Columbia. Although Mr. Herridge published a brief article about the Lakes Indians (Herridge 1958), it was his intention to write a history of these people. Herridge stated in an October 21st, 1969 letter to the Librarian at Selkirk College, Castlegar, that he had in his possession "two hundred documents and letters" concerning the "Arrow Lakes Indian Band" and that he intended to "write a small book about the band" (Herridge 1969). He repeated this intention in another letter to the Selkirk College Librarian on August 21st, 1971: "I intend to write the history of this band when I can get other urgent matters settled" (Herridge 1971). However, Herridge's death in 1973 prevented him from achieving this ambition.

[5] The institutions where we undertook archival and library research between 1978-1984 included the following: the British Columbia Archives, Victoria; the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba; the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; the Archives of Ontario, Toronto; the Treaties and Historical Research Centre of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa; the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C.; the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; the United States Federal Archives and Records Center, Seattle, Washington; the Government Documents Division of the Suzzallo Library, University of Washington, Seattle; the Eastern Washington State Historical Society Library, Spokane; the Oregon Jesuit Provincial Archives, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane; the Washington State University Archives, Pullman; the Government Documents Division of the Multnomah County Library, Portland, Oregon; the Oregon State Historical Society Archives, Portland; the Catholic Diocesan Archives, Portland; and the Washington State Archives, Olympia.

[6] Institutions where we undertook additional archival and library research and/or from which we obtained additional materials while preparing our 1985 Lakes report included the following: the Maps and Plans Vault of Crown Land Registry Services, Office of Surveyor-General, in the British Columbia Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks and Housing, Victoria; the Legislative Library in Victoria; the Regional Headquarters of Indian Affairs, B.C. Region, in Vancouver; the Archives of the Fort Steele Historic Site near Cranbrook; the Nelson Museum and Archives; Selkirk College Library at Castlegar; and the Trail Museum and Archives.

[7] The most recent published scholarly summary of Shuswap culture and history (Boelscher Ignace 1998) reflects Teit's (1910; 1910-1913; 1914) correction of the error he made in his published 1909 Shuswap monograph (Teit 1909) about the southern limits of Shuswap territory in the Arrow Lakes region. Boelscher Ignace's (1998:204) map of overall Shuswap territory extends the territory of the Shuswap Lake Division down the Columbia to a point just *above* Upper Arrow Lake, but that lake itself, and all territory to its south, are not depicted as being within traditional Shuswap territory.

[8] Most of the Okanagan-Colville Native consultants we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s indicated that Kettle Falls was the historical dividing line between the Lakes and Colville.

[9] When Bill Elmendorf first recorded the term for the Lakes

people as "*sina'itskstx*" in September 1935, he incorrectly wrote that its translation was 'people at headwaters' (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:1). A likely explanation for this error is that Elmendorf confused its translation with a translation for the very next Native term he wrote on that same page of his notes — "*o'kinaqin*" (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:1). "*O'kinaqin*" is Elmendorf's transcription of the Okanagan-Colville term *ukwnaḵínx* which means *'ukwnaḵín* [anglicized as "Okanagan"] people' and refers to all those Native Indian people living along the Okanagan River drainage from Vernon in the north to Brewster (in Washington State) in the south (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:251). Moreover, 'people at headwaters' is a plausible translation of *ukwnaḵín*, as our Okanagan Native consultants over the years have explained that the general meaning of *ukwnaḵín* is related to 'upper end/upper waters.'

[10] It was Verne Ray's (1932:11) opinion that "*a'itckst*" [*gaytskst*] referred to "a small speckled fish of the upper Columbia river," whereas Teit (1930b:199) believed that "*ai'tcEkst*" [*gaytskst*] was the "lake trout" which he identified as "*Salvelinus namaycush*?". However, fisheries biologist Larry Hildebrand (1999:pers.comm.) points out that the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*) is *not* found in the Arrow Lakes, or in Slocan Lake, or in Kootenay Lake.

[11] Cultural anthropologist Paula Pryce (1999:17) states that in her view, the "earliest possible version" of the term "*sinixt*" *[sngaytskstx]* is the word that is transcribed as "*Chatth-noo-nick*" on an 1814 map by Aaron Arrowsmith. Pryce adds that the information for this 1814 map "came largely from David Thompson" and cites Belyea (1994:xii) as her source. Pryce also states that "*Chatth-noo-nick*" is a "plausible" rendering of *sngaytskstx*.

As linguists and anthropologists, we disagree with Ms. Pryce. It is our opinion that the first portion of the term "*Chatth-noo-nick*" is likely a representation of what linguists write as "*čɬ*" (or "*chelh-*" in the Bouchard practical orthography), which appears in the Spokane/ Kalispel/Flathead word for 'lake,' but not in the Okanagan-Colville word for 'lake,' which is *t'ikw't*. Arrowsmith's 1814 map identifies a large lake west of Flatbow [Kootenay] Lake as "*Chatth-noo-nick* or Ear-bobs L." However, Alexander Henry makes references to the "Kullyspell or Earbob" Indians, both in his 1810-1811 journal and also in a vocabulary of "Flat Head" words he collected (Coues 1897:709, 711, 716). The reference is clearly to the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreille who in early times were frequently perceived as one people — the "Ear-bobs" became known more commonly by the French term "pend'oreilles" which translates as 'ear-drops' or 'ear-bobs,' hence the tribal designation "Pend d'Oreille." Thus "*Chatth-noo-nick*" is not the name for the Arrow Lakes, and is certainly not another transcription for *sngaytskstx*. Nor do we know of any other historical source that associates the Arrow Lakes and its environs with the "Ear-bob" people, that is, the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreille. The cartographer, Aaron Arrowsmith, simply made an error, and Ms. Pryce follows suit.

As noted above, on page 17 of her book Pryce cites Belyea (1994:xii) as the authority for her statement that information on the 1814 Arrowsmith map "came largely from David Thompson," thus implying that "*Chatth- noo-nick*" may have been included in the information from Thompson. We would point out, however, that the word "*Chatth-noo-nick*" appears nowhere on David Thompson's 1813-1814 map (as published in Coues 1997, Vol. 2), where the Arrow Lakes are depicted only as a slight widening of the Columbia River. Belyea also provides commentary on the 1814 Arrowsmith map, noting that Arrowsmith "was able to incorporate the discoveries of Lewis and Clark." As well, Belyea refers to the Arrow Lakes' depiction as "Ear bobs Lake," and describes "three of Thompson's key discoveries" (none of which is this depiction of the Arrow Lakes). Then Belyea comments that "Arrowsmith may have obtained this information not from Thompson but from Joseph Howse, whose map of the upper Columbia, drawn in 1812, is now lost . . ." (Belyea 1994:295-297). Thus Pryce is wrong in suggesting that the information on the 1814 Arrowsmith map "came largely from David Thompson." In fact, the information came from several sources. Furthermore, Arrowsmith's 1818 map corrects his own 1814 map's error concerning identification of the Arrow

Lakes area by the removal of the words "*Chatth-noo-nick* or Ear-bobs L." from the Arrow Lakes. Belyea provides the following comment on this 1818 Arrowsmith map:

> In contrast to his collaboration with Mackenzie and the Hudson's Bay Company, Arrowsmith did not have easy access to Thompson's cartographical information. For the 1818 state [map edition], Arrowsmith redrew the upper Columbia River, replacing "Ear bobs Lake" with two smaller lakes (Arrow Lakes) . . . But the course of the upper Columbia as shown on the 1818 and subsequent states does not follow any of Thompson's extant maps, the Arrow Lakes are still too large . . . Given the number and importance of such discrepancies, the transaction between Arrowsmith and Thompson remains unclear: if Thompson was indeed paid for information about the Columbia watershed, Arrowsmith did not reproduce this information. . . (Belyea 1994:296-297).

[12] On June 25th, 1998, Bouchard (who happened to be in England, but not for purposes related to this study) reviewed the original of this important map which is held by in the Manuscripts Division of the British Library, London. The original map contains a higher degree of detail that is not visible in the smaller reproduction of the map published in Wheat's volume; these map details are discussed in Section 3.1 of the present report.

[13] Paula Pryce (1999) transcribes *sngaytskstx* as "*sinixt*," following the use of this transcription by the contemporary Lakes people who are centered at Vallican in the Slocan (Sinixt/Arrow Lakes Nation 1999). Other recent works in which the transcription "*sinixt*" is used, include: Morran 1999; 2000a; 2000b; Delehanty Pearkes 1999; 2000; 2002; and Gordon 2004.

[14] This language has, before the 1970s, been inconsistently identified by several names, including "Okanagan" (spelled "Okanagon" in Washington State), or by a more potentially-misleading term, "Colville." Linguist Tony Mattina referred to this language as both "Colville-Okanagan" and "Colville" in the early 1970s (Mattina 1973). Subsequently he tended to use the term "Colville-Okanagan" more often (eg. Mattina 1980; 1987). We ourselves initially used the term "Okanagan" to refer to the entire language, in works such as our 1975 fishing study centered in the Kettle Falls area of the Columbia (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:ii). But since 1979 we have used the term "Okanagan-Colville" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1979:6-7). The term "Okanagan-Colville" has the advantage of denoting the principal names of the two major dialect groups of which the language is presently comprised, and reflecting, through its spelling, the fact that the same language is spoken on both sides of the Canada-United States border. For the use of the term "Okanagan-Colville," see: Carlson (1972); Thompson (1976); Bouchard and Kennedy (1979); Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy (1980); Bouchard and Kennedy (1984a); and Kennedy and Bouchard (1998).

[15] Others have slight variances in the number of dialects they distinguish. For example, Kinkade et. al (1998:51, 57) identify six dialects, omitting Similkameen Okanagan as a separate dialect, and classifying it as a subvariety of Northern Okanagan; Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998:67) identify eight dialects, four of them northern (Head of the Lakes; Vernon; Penticton; and Similkameen) and four southern (Lakes-Colville-Inchelium; San Poil-Nespelem; Southern Okanagan; and Methow). The Plateau Volume of the Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians* (Walker 1998) has adopted arbitrary cultural boundaries that group together the Native people speaking the Northern Okanagan, Lakes and Colville dialects of the Okanagan-Colville language, who are discussed in one article (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998), while a second article discusses a separate grouping comprised of speakers of the Southern Okanogan, Methow, and Sanpoil-Nespelem dialects of Okanagan-Colville, together with the Sinkayuse, Wenatchee, Entiat and Chelan who speak dialects of another Interior Salish language, Columbian (Miller 1998).

[16] The original Lakes dialect was apparently very similar to the Colville dialect spoken by the people living to the south

of the Lakes. James Teit (1907-1910) wrote on May 20th, 1909 that the Lakes and Colville dialects were very similar, with Lakes being distinguished by the "exceedingly slow and measured" manner in which it was spoken.

[17] The term transcribed as "Ktunaxa" has been used by the Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council since about 1990 (see the explanation of this term that follows in the main body of the present report). While "Ktunaxa" is now a widely-used popular term in British Columbia, most linguistic and ethnographic studies continue to use the spelling "Kutenai" (often spelled "Kootenai" in the United States). Another spelling, "Kootenay," appears in geographical names in British Columbia, and is widely known. In the present study we will use both "Kutenai" and "Ktunaxa," although we use "Kutenai" most often — there have been literally dozens of spellings of this term since it was first recorded in the early 1800s.

[18] At one time, all the language families of the Northwest Coast and Plateau culture were classified into one of three *"phyla"*: Na-Dene, Algonkin-Wakashan and Penutian. These phyla are no longer accepted as valid by most linguists. Kutenai, which was formerly classified within the Algonkin-Wakashan group, is now considered to be a language isolate on the Plateau (Foster 1996:81). Numerous other scholars have also identified Kutenai as a linguistic isolate. For example, Horatio Hale, who served as ethnologist with the United States Exploring Expedition which explored parts of the Oregon Territory in 1841, concluded that "Kitunha" [Kutenai] was one of the languages he encountered which could not be grouped with any others into a language family (Hale 1846:535). J.W. Powell's 1891 classification and map of the Native languages of North America north of Mexico also classified "Kitunahan" as an isolate (Powell 1891:Table 3). More modern studies which classify Kutenai as a linguistic isolate include: Voegelin and Voegelin (1965); Campbell and Mithun (1979); Goddard (1996); and Brunton (1998) (but see also Lawrence Morgan's comments on this subject, which follow).

[19] Morgan adds that "some issues relating to the origins of the Kutenai language can be held open for further academic discussion." But Morgan also notes that other issues are, in his view, "absolutely clear at the present time and offer only one possible conclusion" (Morgan 1991:494).

[20] The meaning of the term "*ksanka*" is even more obscure. Turney-High's consultants, interviewed in the late 1930s, no longer knew what the term "*sán'ka*" meant. Even the oldest said that it was an obsolete term whose meaning was forgotten. Turney-High's consultants, both Upper and Lower Kutenai, were, however, insistent that the term did not mean "Flatbows," or "Slender Bows," a translation which had previously been given for the term (Turney-High 1941:12). Paul Baker, who did field work with the Lower Kutenai in the 1950s, secured some admittedly uncertain definitions of the term from his consultants. One said that the tribe referred to itself as "*san'ka*," and stated that "if you saw an arrow sticking straight up in the ground this would be *san'ka*." He could give no further explanation of the meaning. Another consultant, Louie White from Creston, thought that "*san'ka*" meant 'something standing up.' Others translated it as meaning 'bones,' or 'bad bones' (Baker 1955:10). Brunton (1998:236) translates the term as meaning 'standing arrow.'

[21] This term, *sxwapmx*, is transcribed occasionally as *sexwápmex* in the practical orthography for Shuswap devised by Bouchard with the assistance of the late Charley Draney of the Deadman's Creek Indian Reserve (Bouchard and Draney 1970). A description of the Bouchard writing system for Shuswap is published in Palmer (1975b). [See also Bouchard, August and Willard 1973, and Bouchard and Seymour 1976)]. The Shuswap terms appearing in the present report are transcribed by Bouchard using the Shuswap practical orthography he devised.

[22] As linguist James Gibson (1973:v) has pointed out, the literal translation of *sxwapmx* is 'the widely distributed (or scattered) people.'

[23] The Western and Eastern dialects of Shuswap have also been referred to respectively as "the northern dialect" and

"the southern dialect" (Gibson 1973:iii).

[24] Teit's (1909:450) map of aboriginal Shuswap territory also indicates a boundary in the vicinity of Monte Creek, separating what Teit calls the "Kamloops Division" of Shuswap [i.e. those speaking the Western Shuswap dialect] from the "Shuswap Lake Division" [i.e. those speaking the Eastern dialect].

Teit (1909:456) noted that the dialect of the Shuswap Lake Division "differs the most" from all the other Shuswap dialects. A similar statement was made by linguist Aert Kuipers (1974:7), who concluded after his initial survey of the Shuswap language that "only the dialect of Chase shows significant deviations which would require a separate overall description."

[25] According to Hale (1846:205) and A.C. Anderson (1863:73), "Atnah" means 'stranger tribe' in Carrier. "Atnah" was used to identify more than just the Shuswap people; for example, John McLean of the Hudson's Bay Company commented in the 1830s that "on the west side of the Rocky Mountains the Carrier language is succeeded by the Atna, which extends along the Columbia as far down as the Chinooks [on the lower Columbia River]." At the same time, McLean noted that the Indians around Fort Kamloops "are a tribe of the Atnahs" (Wallace 1932:185-188).

Both Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 (Lamb 1970:322, 334) and Ross Cox in 1827 (Cox 1957:368) referred to the Shuswap not only as the "Atnah" but also as the "Chin" Indians.

[26] Alexandria is north from Soda Creek. The vicinity of Soda Creek is generally acknowledged as the most northerly extent of Shuswap territory (Boelscher Ignace 1998:204).

[27] Mackenzie observed that: "The Atnah [Shuswap] language has no affinity to any with which I am acquainted" (Lamb 1970:322); a similar observation was made by Simon Fraser (Lamb 1960:65).

[28] The total extent of "Atnah" (Shuswap) territory is delineated on neither of these maps (Lamb 1970:238-239; Anon. [1804]).

[29] The location of the "Atnah Tribe" was also identified in the general vicinity of Soda Creek on David Thompson's 1813-1814 map (Glover 1962). Thompson, like Mackenzie, did not indicate the southern extent of the "Atnah" on his map.

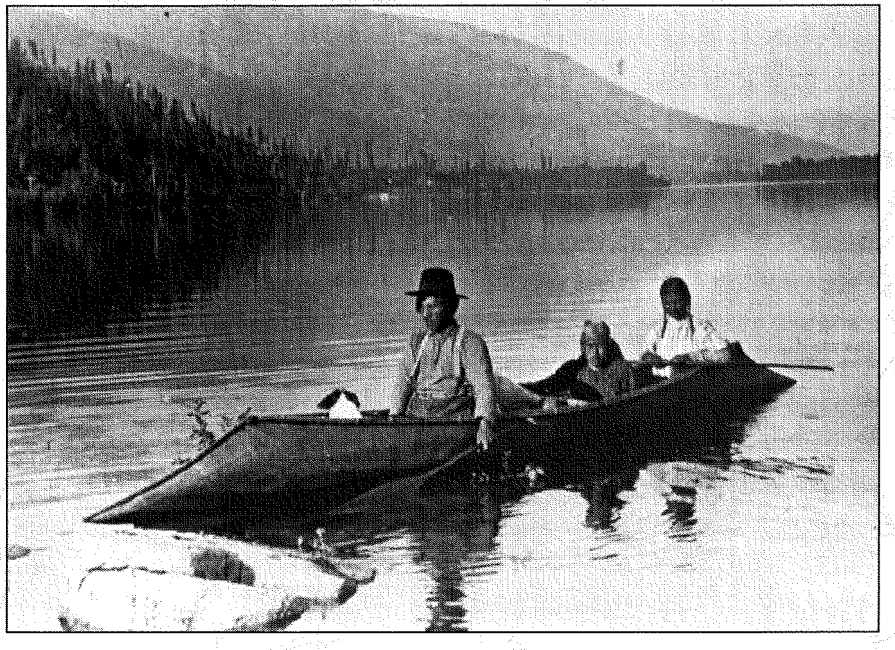
[30] David Thompson's map produced in 1813-1814 for the North West Company (Thompson 1813-1814) identified the "*Skum hoo lim oo*," "the most powerful Nation of these Countries" along the east side of the Fraser River, in the general vicinity of High Bar and Clinton. "*Skum hoo lim oo*" is a rendering of the term that Teit (1909:453) transcribed as "*SLemxúlexamux*" and identified as the "Fraser River division" of the Shuswap.

[31] Linguist Hans Vogt, in his 1940 study of the Kalispel language (based on his 1937 field research), considered all three — Kalispel, Flathead, and Spokane — as closely-related but separate languages. According to Vogt, Kalispel "is almost identical with the Flathead and differs only in few respects from Spokan" (Vogt 1940:7). However, more recent linguistic scholarship identifies Kalispel, Flathead, and Spokane as dialects of one language (Kinkade et al. 1998:51-52; Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:5).

[32] The acronym "TUS" has been used in recent years by agencies of the B.C. Government to refer both to "Traditional Use Study" and to "Traditional Use Site."

[33] See Afable and Beeler (1996) for an excellent article which discusses the importance of place-name studies, and describes numerous such studies throughout North America; see also Fowler and Turner's (1999) article which includes a discussion of the importance of place names, as well as "traditional ecological knowledge" ("TEK"), a term sometimes applied in recent years to the ethnographic documentation of indigenous knowledge systems pertaining to the natural world; see also Posey (1999).

LITERATURE REVIEW



2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

We have included four separate literature reviews in this section. One covers the Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) and Okanagan jointly, because both groups speak related dialects of the Okanagan-Colville language, and both groups have been discussed together in ethnographic and linguistic works. However, the Shuswap and the Kalispel are discussed separately, as they speak languages that are different than, but related to, Okanagan-Colville. There is also a separate discussion for the Kutenai, as they speak a language that is totally different from Okanagan-Colville, Shuswap, and Kalispel.

2.1 LAKES AND OKANAGAN LITERATURE REVIEW

Several comprehensive ethnographic studies have been made of the Lakes and Okanagan. None of these studies, however, provides a comprehensive picture of traditional Native use of the Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region. This is a reflection of the limited ethnographic information available, rather than of the scope or quality of these studies themselves.

The available literature concerning the Similkameen Okanagan (of the Similkameen River area) and Northern Okanagan (of the Okanagan River/Okanagan Lake areas) provides virtually no information about traditional use by these groups of the Lower Kootenay/Columbia region. This is because historically, these groups had an extremely limited presence in this study region, apart from their social and possibly political relations with the Lakes (*sngaytskstx*).

James Teit (n.d.; 1898-1910; 1907-1910; 1910-1913; 1914; 1917; 1930b) has provided the most comprehensive body of ethnographic data on the Okanagan-Colville generally, although he sometimes describes Okanagan-Colville culture in relation to that of the Thompson.[1] In comparison, early ethnographic works on the Okanagan by Edward Curtis (1911) and Charles Hill-Tout (1911) contain much less data. Susan L. Allison (1892) recorded data on the Similkameen Okanagan, and Leslie Spier's study of the Southern Okanagon (1938) also contains original Northern Okanagan data. Norman Lerman's comprehensive ethnographic work among the Okanagan, apart from a brief report on the winter dance (Lerman 1954), remains in his unpublished field notes (Lerman 1952-1954). Overviews of Northern Okanagan compiled by Douglas Hudson (1986; 1990) are based mostly on earlier ethnographies, but do contain some data he elicited around 1980. Peter Carstens (1991) and J.H. Christie and Robert de Pfyffer (1990) document Northern Okanagan social history, and David Wyatt (1998) has published an overview of the Nicola-Similkameen who were the original, non-Salishan inhabitants of the Similkameen River and Nicola River areas. Our 1984 study (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984b) includes original data focusing on Similkameen Okanagan knowledge and use of the lower Similkameen River.

People speaking the Lakes dialect of the Okanagan-Colville language *did* utilize the present study region traditionally. They also underwent a demographic transition during the middle of the 19th century, which saw them shift their *primary* settlements and the focus of their subsistence activity south, to the vicinity of Kettle Falls, Washington, by approximately 1870. Lakes people continued to make some use of the Arrow Lakes region after the demographic transition, and some Lakes Natives — often intermarried with members of other tribes — maintained a few settlements in the area. Scattered ethnohistoric

references to Lakes use of the area can be found up until the 1920s-1930s. However, the more systematic Lakes use of the area that might have provided a richer base of data to ethnographers had ceased by the time ethnographers began to study the Lakes in the early 20th century. Thus, the available site-specific information recorded about the Lakes' traditional northern territory (included within the present Lower Kootenay/ Columbia study region) is relatively thin, as by the time ethnographers began to compile information, most Lakes people were living south of the border.

Four major ethnographic studies of the Lakes have been made. James Teit includes Lakes ethnographic data within both his published Okanagan-Colville studies (Teit 1914; 1930b) and his unpublished field notes (Teit n.d.; 1910; 1910-1913). His Lakes information was recorded in 1909 from the Lakes woman Antoinette Christian and her family, who lived at the settlement at Brilliant, at the mouth of the Kootenay River. This information included a list of old Lakes villages and principal camps. Teit also included some material on resource use.

The late Verne Ray also conducted substantial fieldwork among the Lakes and other Okanagan-Colville groups beginning around 1930 (Ray 1931-1944; 1932; 1933; 1936a; 1936b; 1937; 1939; 1954; 1975; 1976; 1977). His Lakes consultant was James Bernard (see Figure 11), who was born around 1850 and was Chief of the Lakes people from early in the 20th century until his death in 1934. Ray also recorded a list of villages and principal camps that was independent of Teit's, and provided general information about Lakes resource use.

The late W.W. Elmendorf undertook Lakes (and Spokane) fieldwork in 1935 and 1936 (Elmendorf 1935-1936), although he is much better known for his monumental studies of the

Figure 11. Chief James Bernard (born circa 1850, died 1934). National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Neg. No. 3034-A (D. L. Gill photo), 1905.

Twana (Skokomish) Coast Salish. Elmendorf's principal Native consultant was Nancy Wynecoop, a Lakes woman who was born around 1865, and who lived on the Spokane Reservation.[2] Elmendorf elicited some information about Lakes settlements which he considered to be supplemental to Teit's data. As well, Elmendorf recorded a significant amount of social, cultural and political information, including data concerning the Lakes' relations with their neighbours, and their use of specific fish, animals and plants. Since Elmendorf never published his Lakes material, this work is much less well-known than the work of Teit or Ray.

We conducted Lakes field work in the 1970s and 1980s, resulting in several reports (Bouchard and Kennedy 1979; 1984a; 1985a; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998). Our most knowledgeable Native consultants on the Lakes were Indian people who were born in the early 1900s and were all members of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation in Washington State. A major focus of our research was land and resource use. As well, we were specifically interested in finding out about the presence of the Lakes people in British Columbia.

The autobiography of a Native writer, Mourning Dove (Christine Quintasket), who was of Lakes ancestry, has been edited by Jay Miller (1990) and contains some previously-unrecorded data.

Ethnohistoric studies of the Colville and/or Lakes were undertaken by David Chance (1973; 1986), and Christopher Turnbull (1977) in conjunction with their archaeological investigations. Okanagan ethnohistoric studies include works by Duane Thomson (1978; 1985; 1990) and Elizabeth Dolby (1973).

Many local histories contain information about the Lakes people and their use of lands and resources, including works by Kate Johnson (1964), Clara Graham (1963; 1971), B.R. Atkins (n.d.; 1925), the Trail Golden Jubilee Society (1951), the Burton Centennial Committee (1958) and a collection of historical articles published in the Arrow Lakes News in 1930 (Barron 1930; Blyth 1930; Arrow Lakes News 1930; Picard 1926; 1930). Newer collections include monographs published by Harold Webber (1973) the Burton Book Committee (1982), the Edgewood History Book Committee (1991), the Beaver Valley and Pend d'Oreille Historical Society (1997), Trail History and Heritage Committee (1997), Ruby Nobbs (1998), J.W.E. Alexander (1998), and three separate books published by the Arrow Lakes Historical Society (1989; 1992; 1997). The latter (Arrow Lakes Historical Society 1997) identified several important newspaper articles from Revelstoke newspapers of the 1890s which contain detailed data about aboriginal land use by the Lakes people.

Significant ethnohistoric information about the Okanagan-Colville people generally begins with the arrival of the fur traders in and after 1811. The journals of David Thompson (Glover 1962; Belyea 1994); Ross Cox (Cox 1957) and Alexander Ross (Ross 1821; 1849; 1855) are the most significant published early fur trade sources. Detailed information from the 1820s onward appears in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company, particularly the reports of Samuel Black (Black 1823-1825), John Work (Work 1829; 1830), James Bissett (Bissett 1868), Jason Ovid Allard (n.d) and the Fort Colville Journals of 1830-1831 (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831).[3] Catholic missionary documents are also good sources of Lakes information, particularly for the mid-19th century (Demers 1839a; 1839b; De Smet [1842-1848]; Blanchet 1878; Saint Regis Mission 1879, 1893; Caruana 1882; Diomedi 1893; Chittenden and Richardson 1905; Burns

1966; Warner and Munnick 1972). In 1847, the artist Paul Kane provided both information and sketches about the Colville and Lakes (Kane 1974; Harper 1971). Charles Wilkes (1844), George Gibbs (1855) and Charles W. Wilson (1866; 1970) describe Indian culture and provide census data from the 1840s-1850s. Lakes census data from 1870 was compiled by William P. Winans (1870). Descriptions of Lakes and Northern Okanagan Indians are found in several exploring journals of the mid-1860s (British Columbia 1866; 1869). Reports made during the 1860s from British Columbia officials who visited Lakes territory also provide valuable information about settlement and subsistence activities (Cox 1861; Dewdney 1865b). Dawson's Geological Survey of 1888-1889 (Dawson 1890), and his unpublished diary of 1889 (Dawson 1889) also provide useful material on the Lakes.

Indian Agent R.L.T. Galbraith's correspondence (Galbraith 1902a-e; 1907a-b; 1908a-g; 1910a-b, 1917, 1918) is among the most essential sources on the Lakes people that is found within the voluminous Record Group 10 collection from Canada's Department of Indian affairs. Early 20th century testimony from Lakes and Okanagan Indian people can be found in the transcripts of evidence of the 1912-1916 Royal Commission on Indian Affairs (Royal Commission 1914; 1916) and in Department of Indian Affairs Records (Christian 1912; 1914; 1915a; 1915b). Information about the Lakes is also scattered in many different regional newspapers in the late 19th and very early 20th centuries.

Collections of Okanagan-Colville mythology, some of which include Native language texts, have been compiled by: Charles Hill-Tout (1911); James Teit (1917); Marian K. Gould (1917); Mourning Dove (1933); Verne Ray (1933); Josephine Shuttleworth (1936-1938); Eileen Yanan (1971); Randy Bouchard (1978); Anthony Mattina (1985); and Harry Robinson and Wendy Wickwire (1989; 1992). Frank Flynn (1976) and Wolfgang Jilek and Louise Jilek-Aall (1974) have analyzed unpublished Okanagan-Colville mythology in English translation.

Topical studies include: Lillian Ackerman (1982) and Peter Carstens (1987) on leadership; Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy (1980), and Louise Gabriel (1954) on ethnobotany; Bouchard and Kennedy (1979; 1984a; 1984b; 1985a; 1985b) on place names and land use and occupancy;[4] Kennedy (1984) and Donald Watkins (1970b) on traditional medicine and Indian health care; Sismey (1970) on sweatbathing; Kennedy and Bouchard (1975b) on Colville fishing; Wendy Wickwire (1978; 1982) on music; John Schultz (1968; 1971), and Schultz and Deward Walker (1967) on religion; Reginald Atkinson (1952) on burials; Behari Verma (1954) on Northern Okanagan economics and land use; John Ross (1968), James Hirabayashi (1954), and Sylvester Lahren and John Schultz (1973) on factionalism.

A 1999 book by cultural anthropologist Paula Pryce, entitled *'Keeping the Lakes' Way': Reburial and the Re-creation of a Moral World among an Invisible People*, focuses on the contemporary efforts of Lakes people living at Vallican in the Slocan to protect skeletal remains in their aboriginal homeland while asserting their traditional connection to Lakes territory. Though Ms. Pryce relies extensively on the research and analysis we presented in our 1984 and 1985 reports (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a; 1985a), she presents an alternative hypothesis concerning Lakes settlement patterns.[5]

Linguistic research among the Okanagan-Colville, including the compiling of word lists, texts, dictionaries, grammars, and pedagogical materials has been undertaken by: George Gibbs (1877:248-264); A.S. Gatschet [1885]; Franz Boas (c.1900); J.M. LeJeune (1897); James Teit

(1908); Donald Watkins (1970a); Randy Bouchard (Bouchard and Pierre 1973; Bouchard, Pierre and Louie 1973); Anthony Mattina (1973; 1980; 1985; 1987; Mattina and Jack 1990); Nancy J. Mattina (1996); Ivy Doak (1983); and James Somday (1980).

2.2 SHUSWAP LITERATURE REVIEW

Relatively few works concerning the Shuswap people and their culture exist. Most of those available are of a general nature and do not provide detailed land-use data.

Anthropologist Franz Boas interviewed Kamloops Shuswap people for a few days during two visits, one in 1889 and a second in 1894 (Rohner 1969:112-114; 136-139). Boas' first fieldwork resulted in the publication of his brief 1891 article providing a cultural summary of Shuswap material culture, beliefs, social organization and sign language (Boas 1891b). His data on types of dwellings in this article is more reliable than his data on social organization; the latter was expressly influenced by Boas' previous work among the coastal tribes, and the resulting data are inconsistent with subsequent investigations among Interior Salish people. Boas' 1894 work focussed on the collection of Shuswap mythology (Boas 1895; Bouchard and Kennedy 2002:59-80).

Geologist and ethnographer George Dawson published a report in 1892 based on his time spent among the Shuswap from the mid-1870s through the 1880s (Dawson 1892). Although his data are more reliable than Boas' Shuswap data, Dawson was hampered by his misunderstanding of the linguistic identity of the Plateau peoples and their relationships to one another. Dawson is most reliable for his observations on material culture, subsistence practices and place names; some of these data are contained in his daily journals edited by Cole and Lockner (1989).

The most generally reliable presentation of Shuswap culture is found in James Teit's (1909) published monograph. However, Teit recorded little information on site-specific land use among the Shuswap.[6] Important corrections to Teit's (1909) published Shuswap monograph are contained in his own subsequent fieldnotes and correspondence (Teit 1910; 1910-1913), and in his 1914 published article (Teit 1914). These corrections include Teit's significant conclusion that the Arrow Lakes area (which is part of the overall present study region) was the traditional territory of the Lakes people, and *not* the Shuswap, as he had stated incorrectly in his published 1909 Shuswap monograph. Teit's monographs on other Interior Salish tribes also contain data pertaining to Shuswap (Teit 1900; 1906; 1930b).

Verne Ray's ethnographic study of Shuswap, based on a few days' work among the Northern Shuswap bands,[7] was used (along with the published work of Teit) in his 1939 report on cultural relations (Ray 1939) and his 1942 study of cultural element distribution (Ray 1942). Ray's Shuswap work was less helpful to the present study than his Lakes work.

Ethnographic fieldwork focused on Shuswap land and resource use began in the 1970s and carried on through the 1990s with the work of: Gary Palmer (1975a; 1975b); Bouchard, August and Turner (1974); Bouchard and Kennedy (1979; 1985b; 1990; 1995); Kennedy and Bouchard (1975a; 1985a-c); Lawhead and Thomas (1985); Compton et al. (1993; 1994); and Bouchard (1999). A collection of original Shuswap mythology including Native accounts of Shuswap ethnography was published by Bouchard and Kennedy (1979). North Thompson Shuswap place

names have been compiled by Marianne Boelscher Ignace (1985), who has also written a recently-published synthesis of Shuswap culture and history (Boelscher Ignace 1998) .

A series of educational booklets published under the auspices of the "Secwepemc Cultural Education Society" includes accounts of Shuswap ethnography (Matthew 1986a; 1986b; 1986c; 1986d; 1986e; 1986f; Caron 1986; Siska 1988) as well as Shuswap mythology (Tomlin 1993). These booklets have been based primarily on the earlier published work of James Teit. An account of Shuswap history (Coffey et al. 1990) has also been produced under the auspices of this same Society.

Extensive linguistic research among the Shuswap also began in the 1970s and has included the work of: Aert Kuipers (1974; 1982; 1989); Bouchard and Mitchell (1969); Bouchard and Draney (1970); Bouchard, August and A. Willard (1973; 1975); Bouchard and Seymour (1976); James Gibson (1973); Dwight Gardiner (1993); Vickie Jensen *et al.* (1979a; 1979b); and Jay Powell *et al.* (1979a; 1979b). The earlier linguistic research by Horatio Hale (1846) and Jean-Marie Raphael LeJeune (1925) is less accurate.

Ethnohistoric information about the Shuswap begins with the journals kept by the Hudson's Bay Company's traders stationed at Fort Kamloops, which provide the first descriptive observations of the Shuswap and neighbouring tribes. Information contained in these journals relates to aspects of Shuswap society which impacted directly on the fort's survival and prosperity: the amount of furs being trapped; the quantity of salmon available for the Company's rations; and the salmon failures that affected the well-being of both Natives and traders alike. (These journals contain few site-specific references to land use, however). John McLeod's 1823 "Report [on] Columbia" (Hudson's Bay Company 1822-1823b) and Archibald McDonald's 1827 report on the Thompson River District (McDonald 1827a) contain additional information on Shuswap social and political organization.

Several editions of Fort Kamloops journals and despatches, as well as early explorers' and fur traders' journals, have been published with scholarly comment by historians. These editions include: Malcolm McLeod (1872), Elliott Coues (1897), W.S. Wallace (1932), E.E. Rich (1947), Kenneth A. Spaulding (1956 [Ross 1855]), Edgar Stewart and Jane Stewart (1957) [Cox 1957], Kaye Lamb (1957; 1960; 1970), and Richard Glover (1962). These journals also form the basis of historical scholarly articles relating to Lolo St. Paul and Fort Kamloops that have been prepared by George D. Brown and Kaye Lamb (1939), and Henry Johnson (1937). A less scholarly account of Lolo St. Paul has been compiled by local historian J.J. Morse [1948].

Early explorers and travellers whose accounts contain useful Shuswap material include Daniel Harmon (1820), Horatio Hale (1846), Alexander Ross (1849), Walter B. Cheadle (1862-1863), Henry De Groot (1859), Richard Mayne (1862), A.C. Anderson (1863; 1877), W.F. Milton and Cheadle (1865), and George M. Grant (1873).

Historical maps which record the presence of territorial boundaries, trails, camps, villages and place names include maps compiled by David Thompson (1813-1814), Anonymous ([1804]), Samuel Black ([1833]; 1861), A.C. Anderson (1858; 1867), Gustavus Epner (1862), James Turnbull (1865), W.F. Tolmie and George Dawson (1884), and Dawson (1892). The fieldnotes and accompanying maps prepared by Walter Moberly (1865a; 1865b; 1865c) contain particularly reliable observations on the location, identity and attitudes of Shuswap people.

2.3 KUTENAI LITERATURE REVIEW

Several comprehensive ethnographic studies have been made of the Kutenai. However, most of this Kutenai research has focussed more on the Upper Kutenai than on the Lower. The Lower Kutenai, whose traditional territory includes part of the Lower Kootenay/Columbia study region, are of much greater salience to the present report. Thus the existing, available studies do not provide a comprehensive view of traditional Kutenai land and resource use within the present study region.

George Dawson, a well-known geologist and ethnographer, compiled material relating to the study area on several occasions. His research included inquiries into the Kutenai in 1883 (Tolmie and Dawson 1884) and the Shuswap and Lakes in 1888 and 1889 (Dawson 1889; 1890; 1892).

Franz Boas, the eminent anthropologist and linguist, conducted some research among the Kutenai between 1886 and 1888 (Boas 1890; 1905). His linguistic map, compiled in 1928 (Boas 1928) is also of importance. Boas, together with Chamberlain, compiled and edited an important collection of Kutenai myths (Boas and Chamberlain 1918).

Alexander F. Chamberlain, in 1891, was the first researcher to conduct reasonably systematic inquiries among the Kutenai. His published reports (Chamberlain 1893; 1905) and unpublished notes (Chamberlain n.d.a-n.d.f) [8] are an important source of information.

Edward Curtis (1911) compiled a list of Kutenai subgroups between 1907 and 1909 from original fieldwork, as part of his multi-volume ethnographic treatment of North American Indians. He gave brief locational information about each group (Curtis 1911:118), and provided some additional data. An appendix (Curtis 1911:173-174) indicates animals that were used for food, although the information was presented in tabular form without detail about particular locations where these animals were taken, or any other type of description.[9]

While James Teit did not publish any systematic ethnographic information about the Kutenai, he did record some material relating to Kutenai settlement and land use in his unpublished field notes (Teit 1907-1910; 1910-1913). He also elicited data from the adjacent Lakes and Shuswap groups which are important in defining the western boundary of the Kutenai (Teit 1898-1910; 1909; 1910; 1910-1913). As well, Teit gathered Kutenai material during his studies among the Coeur d'Alene and Flathead published in 1930 (Teit 1930b). Information on the Kutenai who lived east of the Rockies appears in Teit's (1930a; 1930b) published materials and in his unpublished notes (including Teit 1910-1913).

Harry Holbert Turney-High conducted a significant field research study among the Kutenai in 1939 and 1940 (Turney-High 1941). His Kutenai consultants included both Upper and Lower Kutenai, and his study contains proportionately more Lower Kutenai material than most of the other Kutenai studies as a result. Turney-High's work is generally considered to be the most complete Kutenai ethnography based substantially on original field research, although some gaps in the material do exist, and the accuracy of some of the information he recorded has subsequently been questioned.

Claude Schaeffer conducted field work among the Kutenai between 1935 and 1937 to prepare a 1940 doctoral dissertation on the Kutenai subsistence quest (Schaeffer 1940). The dissertation is useful for information on the subsistence practices themselves, although the amount of detail is very limited, and the information is presented in a way that makes it virtually impossible to verify. Schaeffer also

compiled detailed information on the Kutenai subgroups.[10] The actual data are available only in Schaeffer's unpublished fieldnotes, which are held in the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and in the Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Alberta. We have not had the opportunity to review these fieldnotes. However, Schaeffer's fieldnotes were used extensively in a 1950s study by Stuart Chalfant (Chalfant 1974b), and Chalfant's lengthy excerpts from Schaeffer have been utilized in the present report as a substitute for the original notes. Schaeffer wrote several subsequent articles on the Kutenai, including an article on their use of bears and bear ceremonialism (Schaeffer 1966) and a posthumously-published article on the issue of Kutenai migration from east of the Rockies (Schaeffer 1982).

Verne Ray studied groups adjacent to the Kutenai rather than the Kutenai themselves (Ray 1936b; 1939; 1942), but his information assists in defining Kutenai boundaries through defining the boundaries of their neighbours. Ray's 1942 study indicates resources used by the Kutenai, although it appears to be more reflective of Upper Kutenai resources.

Carling Malouf has written extensively about the Kutenai. However, his emphasis has largely concentrated on Kutenai Indians within the United States, not Canada. His study done for the Indian Claims Commission was focussed on American Kutenai, and says very little about the Canadian Kutenai.[11] Likewise, other articles by Malouf (Malouf 1952; Malouf and Thain 1953) provide very useful material about the Flathead Lake Kutenai in the United States, but nothing useful about the groups near the present study area.

Like Malouf, Stuart Chalfant did a study of the Kutenai in the 1950s for the Indian Claims Commission; his was done on behalf of the American federal government (Chalfant 1974b; Indian Claims Commission 1954). Chalfant's focus, like Malouf's, was thus on lands in the United States that were occupied by the Kutenai, and relatively little information was given about the Kutenai on the Canadian side of the border.[12]

The late Allan Smith's comprehensive 1984 Kutenai study was focussed specifically on the region around Lake Koocanusa, an artificial lake behind the Libby Dam on the Kootenay River (A.Smith 1984). This lake is primarily in the United States, and the area around Libby was the focus of Smith's inquiries. While Smith does survey the literature which discusses the Canadian Kutenai as well, his emphasis is on the Upper Kutenai, not the Lower, and while he does present some material on the Lower Kutenai, it is not comprehensive. Smith does provide a very thorough review of the boundaries of traditional Kutenai territory.

One study which explicitly focuses on the Lower Kutenai was done by Paul Baker in 1955 (Baker 1955). Baker spoke with both Creston and Bonner's Ferry people (and identified his consultants throughout his text). Baker, however, was a sociologist, and the focus of his inquiry was largely contemporary. The amount of material on traditional land use is limited, and generally not site-specific.

Olga Johnson's study (Johnson 1969) relies substantially on Turney-High, but also supplements his work and other published sources with additional material gathered herself through interviews with Kutenai elders.

Bill B. Brunton's recent article on the Kutenai includes some of his own original field work dating from the 1960s, but is principally a literature review (Brunton 1998). Similarly, Deward Walker's (1978; 1985; 1994) overviews of Kutenai ethnography and ethnohistory are primarily from the literature.

Althoough A.F. Chamberlain (n.d.c) compiled

an early, unpublished ethnobotanical study of the Kutenai, based on his early-1890s fieldwork, the most comprehensive source on Kutenai plant use is Hart, Turner and Morgan's unpublished 1980 monograph (Hart, Turner and Morgan 1980). The amount of site-specific Lower Kutenai information compiled in this latter ethnobotanical report is very limited however. Nor is there site-specific Kutenai plant information in a recently-published ethnobotany booklet compiled under the auspices of the Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council (Keefer and McCoy 1999).

The 1984 Preliminary Report written by Justus Simonetta Development Consultants on behalf of the Kootenay Area Indian Council is weak (Justus Simonetta 1984) — the research upon which the report was based does not appear to have been comprehensive, and there appears to have been little, if any, attempt made to assess the information that was obtained. A 1980 Kutenai resource inventory report done in connection with the southeast portion Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline (Teneese, Jacobs and McCoy 1980) did not consider areas as far west as the present study area.

Historian David Chance's study of the Kootenay Fur Trade and its establishments between 1795 and 1871 was, like Smith's study referred to above, undertaken in connection with the Lake Koocanusa project (Chance 1981). Chance's study is an extremely detailed examination based on ethnohistoric sources, and contains an ethnohistoric examination of the Kutenai in relation to the fur trade. We have reviewed many of the same sources that Chance has relied on, including the accounts of: Peter Fidler (MacGregor 1966); David Thompson (1811;[13] Elliott 1918; 1920; Glover 1962; Belyea 1994); Alexander Henry (Coues 1897); Ross Cox (1957); John McLeod (1822-1823); George Simpson (Merk 1968); Alexander Ross (1825; 1855); John Warren Dease (1827); John Work (1830; Elliott 1914); Francis Heron (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831); and James Douglas (1835).

Some ethnohistoric accounts generated independently of the fur trade are also significant sources of Kutenai material, including materials compiled by Father P.J. De Smet (1863; 1906; Chittenden and Richardson 1905) who ministered to the Kutenai in the 1840s. Descriptions of the Kutenai were also provided by members of several exploring expeditions which passed through or near Kutenai territory in the 1850s: George Gibbs (1855);[14] John Palliser (Spry 1963; 1968); Thomas Blakiston (1858); Augustus Thibodo (1940); James Hector (Hector and Vaux 1861); William Hamilton (1900); and Charles Wilson (1866; Stanley 1970). Arthur Fenwick's (n.d.) memoir recalling his activities among the Kutenai in the 1880s contains useful information. W.A. Baillie-Grohman, a big-game hunter and pioneer settler in the Kootenay District, wrote extensively about his experiences, and provided much material about the Kootenay Lake area in 1882 (Baillie-Grohman 1907; 1918). His observations about topics directly related to Kutenai hunting are of particular value.

A number of reports prepared by federal and provincial officials in the 19th and early 20th centuries have proven useful for the purposes of this study. These include: William Cox's (1861) account of his trip to the Kootenay River/ Columbia confluence; and Edgar Dewdney's (1865a-d) and Walter Moberly's (1866) explorations throughout this region. Arthur Farwell made a first-hand examination of the Kutenai in 1883 (Farwell 1884). Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly's original Minute of Decision (O'Reilly 1884) contains valuable information about the Kutenai groups. Robert Galbraith, a long-time resident who later became the Kootenay Indian Agent in the late 19th

century, wrote several important accounts based on his investigations of the Indians living at the mouth of the Kootenay River (Galbraith 1902a-e; 1908a-e; 1910a-b) and also gave useful testimony about the range of the Kutenai in testimony before the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs (1914). Valuable information about Lower Kutenai use and occupancy of the Creston area is also provided in Royal Commission on Indian Affairs' (1914; 1916) documents.[15]

A number of local histories contain Kutenai material, including works by: Clara Graham (1963; 1971); R. Islip (1971); Harold Webber (1973); Fred Smyth (1938); E.L. Affleck (1976a; 1976b; 1976c; 1978); Wynndel Heritage Group (1986); Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee (1988); and John Norris (1995). An unpublished manuscript on the Kutenai held by the Creston District Historical and Museum Society contains some site-specific data on Lower Kutenai land use (Ross [c.1980]).

Kutenai place names — including several within the present study region — are found on a map likely prepared on behalf of the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council around 1995 (Anonymous [c.1995]). Similar Kutenai place names information is found as part of a Ktunaxa/ Kinbasket Tribal Council-sponsored ethnobotanical booklet (Keefer and McCoy 1999:55-56), and also appears, together with some site-use data, in travel writer Chery Coull's (1996) guide book to aboriginal B.C.

Linguistic materials concerning the Kutenai language, or containing information about the Kutenai language, include works by: Lawrence Morgan (1976; 1980; 1991); Paul Garvin (1948a-c; 1951; 1953; 1954); Alexander Chamberlain (n.d.a-b; n.d.d; n.d.f; 1909); Campbell and Mithun (1979); Michael Foster (1996); Ives Goddard (1996); and Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby and Aoki (1998).

2.4 KALISPEL LITERATURE REVIEW

While Kalispel ethnographic material has been recorded by several people, no detailed scholarly monograph on the Kalispel has actually been *published*. Several ethnographic sources agree that the northwestern tip of Kalispel territory extended into the Salmo River Valley in British Columbia, but only a small amount of information has been recorded about Kalispel use of this area.

The most comprehensive ethnographic study of the Kalispel was made by the late Professor Allan Smith. He collected a very substantial amount of Kalispel ethnographic data — comprising about 2,000 pages of fieldnotes — during the course of the 8 1/2 months of fieldwork he undertook with elderly Kalispel consultants between 1936-1938 (Smith 1951:13-14, 52-53). Although Smith never published his voluminous Kalispel data as a monograph, he did present significant amounts of it to the United States Indian Claims Commission on behalf of the Kalispel Tribe in the 1950s (A.Smith 1950; 1951; 1954a-c), and years later prepared a comprehensive overview of Kalispel ethnography and ethnohistory (A.Smith 1986).

In particular, Smith's (1950) 569-page draft Kalispel ethnography, consisting principally of his reworked fieldnotes, is a remarkable document (even though portions of it seem incomplete and its organization makes it difficult to use). This draft Kalispel ethnography contains a large amount of traditional-use data, including detailed information about Kalispel use of the area around the mouth of the Salmo River. A comment on Smith's monumental work was provided by Verne Ray in July 1954 when Ray was giving testimony during the Indian Claims Commission. Asked to compare his own findings relating to Kalispel land ownership, political structure, economic exploitation of natural resources and related

subject matters, with those of Allan Smith, Ray replied: "I should say that Dr. Smith's [Kalispel] work was vastly more complete than mine; in fact, probably the most complete job of ethnographic investigation done anywhere in the Northwest in the United States" (Ray 1954a:179).

James Teit was actually the first ethnographer to explicitly define the Salmo River area as being part of Kalispel territory. He discussed the Kalispel in his posthumously-published monograph on the Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau (Teit 1930b). Additional information about the Kalispel, particularly their use of the Salmo River area, is found in Teit's unpublished notes (Teit 1910-1913). The other principal Kalispel ethnographic source is Verne Ray's 1936 article on the tribes of the Columbia Basin (Ray 1936b) which identifies the names and locations of fourteen Kalispel villages, obtained from Ray's ethnographic field research with a Kalispel man named Bob Sherwood (who was also one of Allan Smith's consultants). As well, Ray published cultural data on the Kalispel in tabular form (Ray 1942).

Stuart Chalfant's study of the Kalispel, which was also prepared for the Indian Claims Commission in the early 1950s but later published in 1974, is, unlike Smith's study, primarily a review of the literature (Chalfant 1974a). A useful work which contains considerable Kalispel ethnohistoric and ethnographic data was prepared by Carling Malouf (1974), also for the Indian Claims Commission. However, Chalfant's and Malouf's studies contain almost no information about Kalispel land and resource use in British Columbia (see also Section 5.0 of the present report).

Subsequent ethnographic studies of the Kalispel are also primarily reviews of the available ethnographic and ethnohistoric data. John Fahey's (1986) study discusses Kalispel use of the Salmo River area, but Fahey indicates that he did no original field work, and relied on Allan Smith's field work for his ethnographic content. Sylvester Lahren's (1994; 1998) recent overviews of the Kalispel are also primarily reviews of the literature, although Lahren apparently did undertake some field research with the Kalispel.

Other ethnohistoric sources on the Kalispel, such as Father De Smet (Chittenden and Richardson 1905), do not contain information about Kalispel use of the Salmo. Early ethnohistoric accounts recorded by traders and others who attempted to go down the lower Pend d'Oreille River in the vicinity of the Box Canyon or beyond do not record the Kalispel using the lower part of the river, and generally state the opinion that the Kalispel they encountered were unfamiliar with the area. This is the view given by David Thompson (Elliott 1932; Glover 1962) and George Suckley (1855). Other ethnohistoric accounts like Lewis and Clark (Coues 1893), Alexander Ross (1821), George Simpson (1824-1825), John Work (1830), Father De Smet [1842-1848] provide very sketchy information about the lower Pend d'Oreille River area. Moreover, it appears that several expeditions made between the late-1850s and mid-1860s through the Pend d'Oreille and Salmo Valleys did not record Kalispel use of the area at that time (Sullivan, in Spry 1968; Martin 1920; Birch, in MacFie 1865; Dewdney 1865d; Gosnell 1908; Turnbull 1865).

Linguist Hans Vogt published a description of the Kalispel language (see Section 1.3.5 of the present report) in 1940, based on his 1937 fieldwork (Vogt 1940). An analysis of Kalispel linguistic synonymy by Ives Goddard appears in Lahren's (1998:296) article.

SECTION 2.0 ENDNOTES

[1] Teit undertook ethnographic investigations among all the Interior Salish groups, beginning in the late 1880s and continuing until his death in 1922. His marriage to a Thompson Native woman and his close association with aboriginal people throughout the Interior and elsewhere provided him with a familiarity with their languages and a deep appreciation and understanding for their cultures. He also assisted Native groups and individuals in bringing their land claims concerns to the attention of non-Native Governments.

[2] Many years later, Nancy Wynecoop's daughter, Nancy Wynecoop Clark, edited and published a collection of her mother' accounts (Wynecoop 1985). However, these accounts do not include the type of information that could be of assistance to the present report.

[3] The 1830-1831 journals are the only early Fort Colville journals known to have survived.

[4] A recent report by anthropologist Lillian Ackerman — an ethnographic overview and assessment of existing information relating to the Native populations of the Franklin D. Roosevelt area in Washington State — summarizes Bouchard and Kennedy's (1984a) place names data and reviews and assesses the Bouchard/Kennedy/1984a study (Ackerman 1996:48-72).

[5] Schroeder (2000) and Bouchard and Kennedy (2001) have reviewed Pryce's 1999 study. See also our comments about Pryce's study in Endnote 11 on pages 21-22 and Endnote 7 on pages 172-173 of the present work.

[6] Instead, Teit sought generalities of cultural practices that could be applied universally to Shuswap people, and sometimes to all Interior Salish. Moreover, the organization, subject matter and theoretical orientation presented in Teit's Shuswap monograph reflect the biases of his editor, Franz Boas. Few Native consultants are identified in Teit's Shuswap work, making it difficult to associate data with specific areas. Teit's data localize activities to only a few significant sites; he seldom clarifies the identify of who used specific areas, or the time of their visit.

[7] In the 1960s, a little-known study concerning cultural relations and ethnocentrism was conducted among Shuswap residents of two of these Northern Shuswap bands — Alkali Lake and Soda Creek. The resulting publication (Brow 1972) consists of a transcript of interviews with several Shuswap consultants, and is most useful for its comments regarding Shuswap social organization. The transcripts comprising this publication, however, reveal the inexperience of the investigators, who seldom followed through with a particular line of inquiry.

[8] Chamberlain's (n.d.a-n.d.f) unpublished field notes and manuscripts address various aspects of Kutenai ethnography and linguistics. Of these materials, Chamberlain (n.d.e) includes a discussion of Kutenai component groups.

[9] Curtis' chart is also slightly problematic because the identification of whether the animal was eaten is made not for the Kutenai individually, but for a "group" of three Tribes, the Yakima and the Klickitat being the other. Consequently, identifying particular animals as having been eaten by the Kutenai on the sole basis of Curtis's chart is problematic, given that the reference could well be indicating their use by groups living much further south on the Plateau.

[10] Schaeffer's fieldnotes are composed primarily of Upper Kutenai material. These fieldnotes are identified as having been prepared in 1935. In the preface to his dissertation, Schaeffer indicated that his 1935 fieldnotes were compiled at Tobacco Plains, and were on the economic life and material culture of the Upper Kutenai. Schaeffer in 1937 made brief visits to the other groups, including the Lower Kutenai at Bonner's Ferry and Creston. But even following the completion of this later body of data, Schaeffer noted that most of the field data only related to the Upper Kutenai (Schaeffer 1940:3).

[11] Malouf compiled a very detailed resource use map which identified "favorite hunting and gathering places" and indicated the principal species taken (Malouf 1974:138).

Unfortunately, it only covers the southwestern Montana area and provides absolutely no information about resource use in British Columbia.

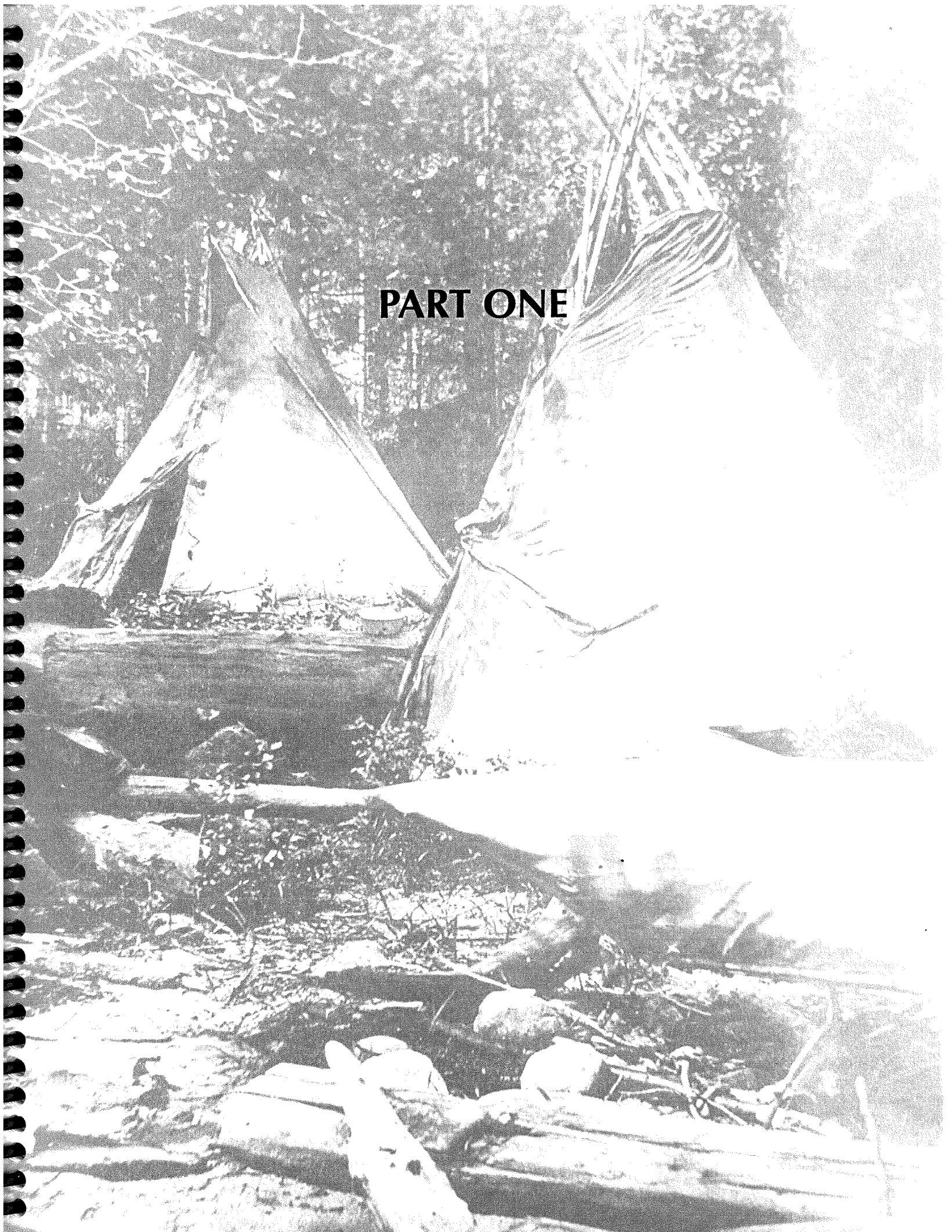
[12] In Chalfant's testimony before the Commission, the matter of the Arrow Lakes *was* raised, however. Chalfant testified that his 1952-1953 fieldwork indicated that the Lakes Indians were the ones who used the Lakes. He stated that:

> I was able to determine in the field that the Lake Indians hunted extensively north into British Columbia in the vicinity of the Arrow Lakes and in Washington they hunted up the Kettle River at least as far as Curlew and to the west of Curlew , Washington (Indian Claims Commission 1954:228).

[13] Some notes that we made previously from Thompson's unpublished journals at the Provincial Archives of Ontario in Toronto were also reviewed for the present study. Unfortunately, we did not make notes on all of Thompson's Kutenai material.

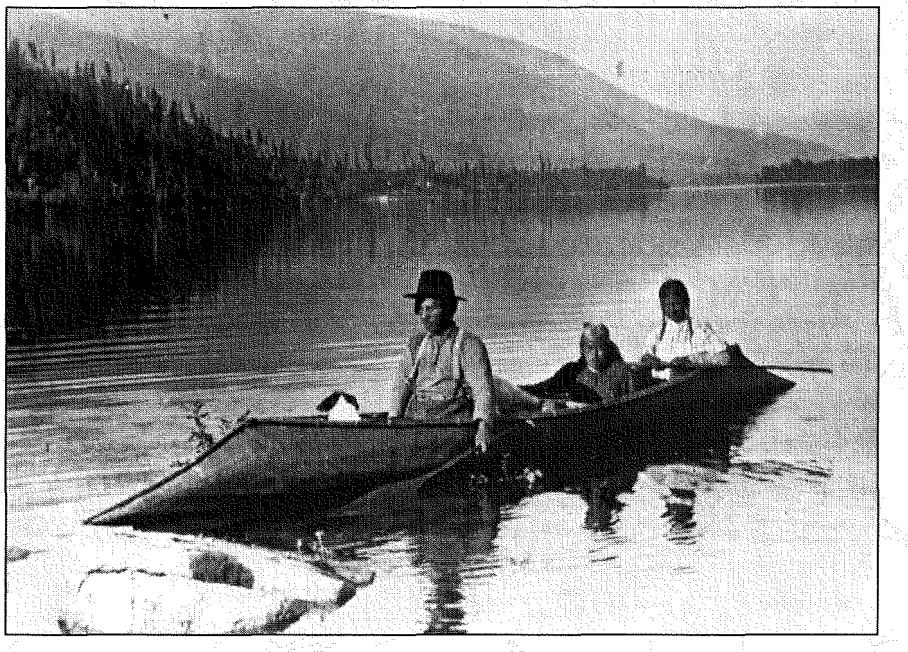
[14] Gibbs' published 1855 report, which is a well-known early study on the Native groups of Washington, obtained the majority of its Kutenai material from Father De Smet. We have also reviewed Gibbs' own unpublished field notebooks (Gibbs 1853-1856; [1854-1855]; [1854-1857]; [1855-1856] from this period (which are much less well-known), but they contain very little additional Kutenai information other than the material in the published report.

[15] Some additional information is provided in the surviving early records of the Kootenay Indian Agency (Kootenay Agency Letterbooks [1896-1919]). However, no volumes before 1896 remain extant, the surviving volumes are not in the best of condition, and no files of the Agent's incoming correspondence have been preserved at all. Notwithstanding, the existing records do provide some information about Lower Kutenai resource use outside the Reserves at Creston.



PART ONE

AREA C: LOWER COLUMBIA / ARROW LAKES



3.0 AREA C: LOWER COLUMBIA / ARROW LAKES

This region of the overall study area actually begins north from Revelstoke and extends along the Columbia southwards through the Arrow Lakes, through Castlegar, Brilliant and Trail, all the way to the United States border at Waneta (see Maps 1, 2, and 4).

3.1 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE ARROW LAKES

The Arrow Lakes were the heart of *sngaytskstx* (Lakes) territory until the mid-1800s when the Lakes people began to shift their activities southward. Ethnographer James Teit (1930b:211) recorded that the Lakes people referred to the two Arrow Lakes as "*ti'kul*" [*t'ikw't*] which is the generic term for 'lake' in the Okanagan-Colville language.

As we have noted (see Section 1), the Lakes people's name for themselves, *sngaytskstx*, comes from the Okanagan-Colville term *gaytskst*, 'bull trout' (*Salvelinus confluentus)* which was until recently known as the 'Dolly Varden char.' Thus, *sngaytskst* means 'bull trout (Dolly Varden char) people.' According to fisheries biologist Larry Hildebrand (2000a:pers.comm.), bull trout were — and to a lesser extent still are — common throughout the upper Columbia region, including the Arrow Lakes and Slocan Lake drainages, the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, and the Duncan/ Lardeau drainage.

The Arrow Lakes were the centre of the Lakes Indians' waterborne communications and transport system. The Arrow Lakes system made possible the passage between the important hunting grounds around the Upper Arrow Lake, Revelstoke, and beyond, and important fisheries to the south, at Kettle Falls, and to the east, up the Kootenay River to the Slocan and to the West Arm of Kootenay Lake.

Traditional Lakes Indian territory around the Arrow Lakes, as it existed before the Lakes' southward movement, actually extended a considerable distance north from Upper Arrow Lake to the Dalles des Morts, about 64 Km (40 miles) north of Revelstoke on the Columbia River. The area west of the Arrow Lakes into the Christina Range, the western limit of Lakes territory, was also very important to the Lakes people, as it was one of their primary hunting grounds. The Arrow Lakes were also the location of several historic *sngaytskstx* villages.

Other aboriginal peoples — the Shuswap, Okanagan and Kutenai (Ktunaxa) — sometimes entered Lakes territory, either to visit and trade with the *sngaytskstx*, to pass through en route to a visit to another resource site or Native group, or to hunt and fish with the *sngaytskstx* in their territory. Sometimes these other groups intermarried with the Lakes. However, the recorded data indicate that in earlier times only *sngaytskstx* villages were situated on the Arrow Lakes (see the discussion that follows). Those early ethnohistoric references which make identifications of the indigenous name of Natives encountered on the Arrow Lakes indicate that they identified themselves as *sngaytskstx*, a group who became known in English as the "Lakes Indians." In more recent times, members of the neighbouring Shuswap and Kootenay, intermarried with *sngaytskstx* women, became more prominent in the history of the area.

The first of these recorded ethnohistoric identifications[1] (see Figure 12) appears to come from 1821, and was made by fur trader Alexander Ross (see Figure 13). In 1821 Ross prepared a map of the Columbia Basin[2] which identifies the area broadly about the Arrow Lakes as being the

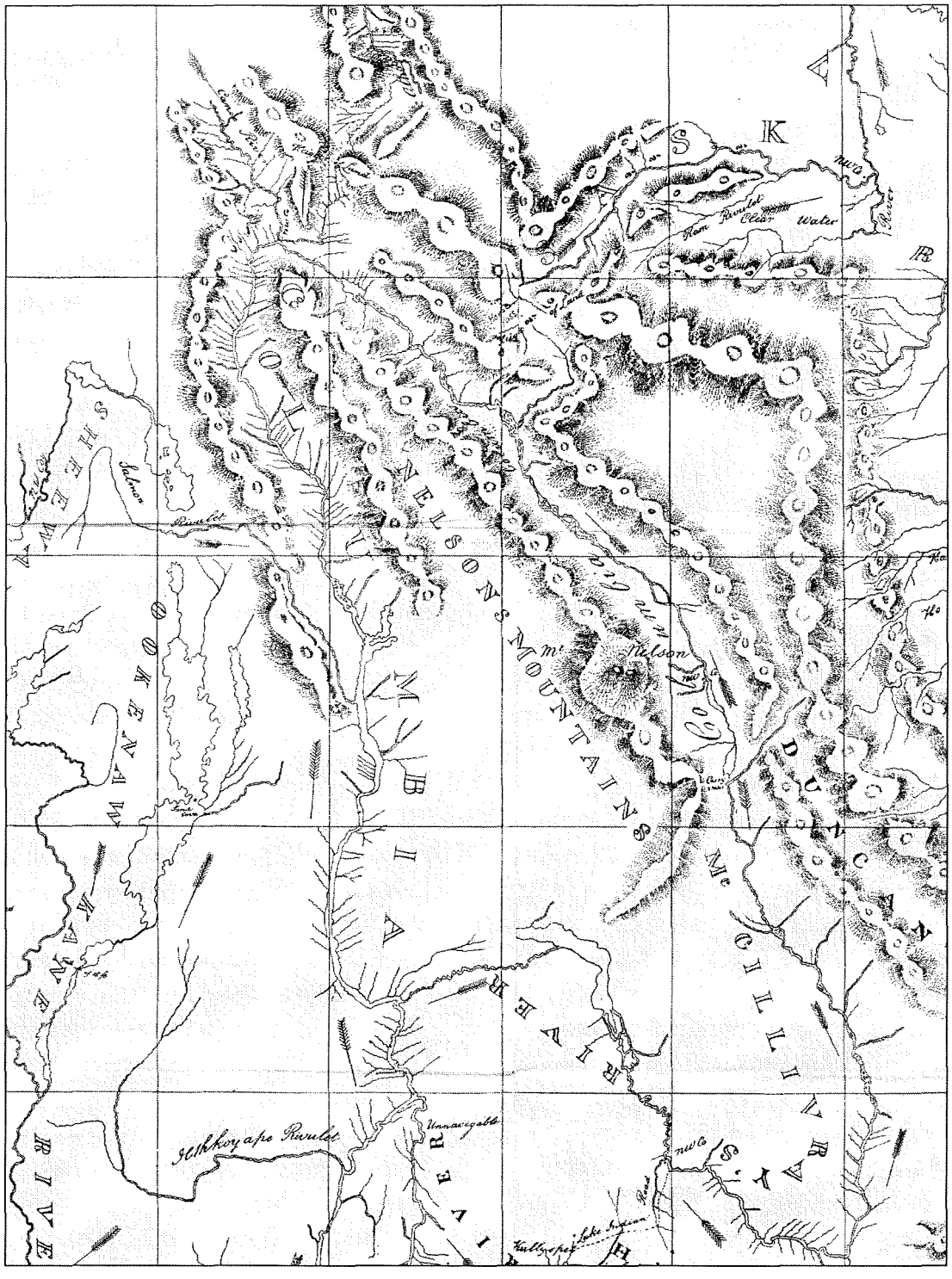


Figure 12. Tracing of a portion of David Thompson's 1813-1814 map prepared for the North West company (traced by Francis P. Harper in 1896, under the direction of Dr. Elliott Coues). In, The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, Vol II, edited by Elliott Coues. Published by Ross and Haines, Inc., Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1897.

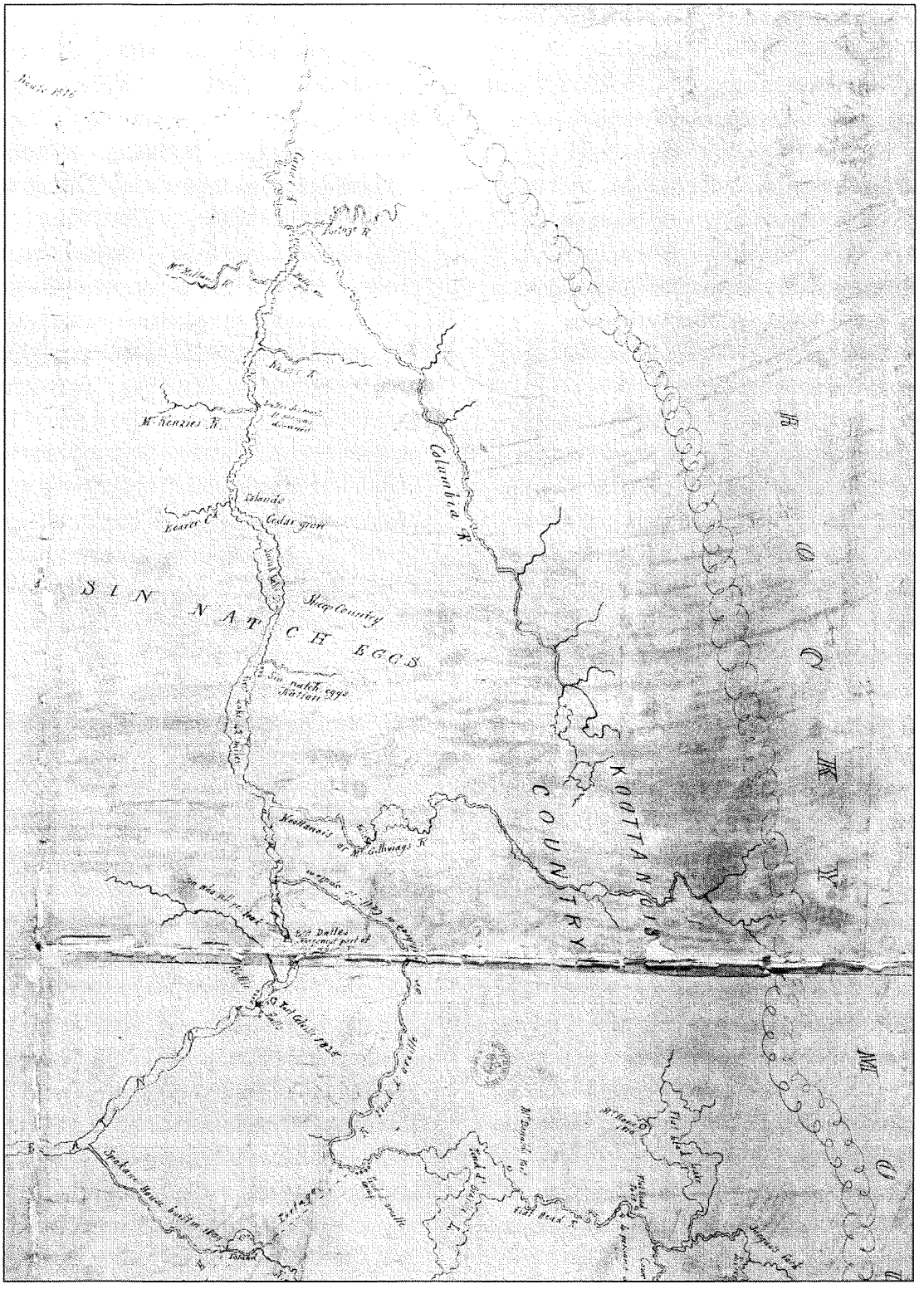


Figure 13. Portion of the map of Columbia, by Alexander Ross (September, 1821, with additions to 1849). British Library, London, England. Department of Manuscripts, Add. Mss. No. 31, 358B.

territory of a Native group whose name he recorded as the "*Sin natch eggs*." Ross' map places the "*Sin-natch-eggs* Nation" just to the east of the northern end of Lower Arrow Lake (Ross 1821; Wheat 1958:107). "*Sin-natch-eggs*" is, of course, a transcription of the Lakes Indians' name for themselves in their own language, *sngaytskstx*. Ross' map provides further important information about these people. On the original copy of this map, in the British Library's Department of Manuscripts in London, England, three dots made by Ross to indicate habitation are visible on the east side of Lower Arrow Lakes's northern end. These three dots are placed immediately south of an unnamed creek flowing in from the east, and right next to the words "*Sin-natch-eggs*" (Ross 1821). These dots, and the village they represent, are not visible in the only version of the map which we know to have been published (Wheat 1958). These habitations appear to be in the general vicinity of the present town of Burton, and the creek appears to be the one whose modern name is Caribou Creek, and which Arrowsmith's 1859 map appears to identify as the "*Sin natcheggs* R." (Arrowsmith 1859).[3]

In 1824, Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson also explicitly situated the Lakes Indians on the Arrow Lakes, describing the "*Sinachicks*" as "part of the Kettle Falls tribe" and living about the "lakes of the main river" (Merk 1968:40, 169). The "main river" clearly refers to the Columbia, and the reference is thus to the Arrow Lakes. During Simpson's visit to Kettle Falls, he selected a site for a new HBC post established the following year in 1825.Among the numerous aboriginal people who congregated here at Kettle Falls were those from the Arrow Lakes, an observation noted commonly in the HBC journals dating from this time. One particularly astute observer of the local people, HBC Chief Factor John Work, reported to Headquarters "Some Information Relative to Colvile District," including a description of the indigenous peoples with whom the Fort was in contact. In this 1830 report, Work unequivocally identified the homeland of the "Lake Indians or *Sinaeteht*" as the Arrow Lakes region. Concerning their territory, he remarked: "The Lake Indians inhabit the Columbia from or above the Athabasca portage to the White goat river or little Dalls [Northport, Washington] not far above Kettle Falls, and the small streams that fall into it" (Work 1830). (The Athabasca portage was an area where the fur traders set up a supply depot known as Boat Encampment at the confluence of the Columbia, Canoe and Wood Rivers, used by the packers on their way).

Missionaries followed the fur traders into the upper Columbia. In 1838, two French Canadian Catholic priests, Modeste Demers and Norbert Blanchet, travelling with the HBC brigade, passed through the Arrow Lakes where they remained for nineteen days among the "people of the lakes" on the upper Arrow Lake (Bagley 1932:48). Several years later, Father Jean De Smet, a Jesuit missionary, visited the Arrow Lakes in 1846 and identified the people camped along the shores there as Lakes. De Smet spoke with twenty families, and recorded that "the tribe of these Lake Indians are a part of the Kettle Fall nation" (Chitlenden and Richardson 1905:II:548-549). The relationship between the two groups apparently recognized by De Smet was that both the *sngaytskstx* and the *sx̱weyíʔlhp* (Colville or Kettle Falls Indians) speak dialects of the Okanagan-Colville language. While some early fur trader accounts also used the term "Lake Indians" to refer to the Lower Kutenai,[4] De Smet's identification of them as part of the "Kettle Fall nation" gives very good evidence of who they were.

De Smet also identified the Lakes as a separate group within this larger dialect

continuum in a large undated map of the Plateau region he prepared at some point in the 1840s. The map identifies the Lakes people, and places a representative illustration of a village on the west side of Upper Arrow Lake, identified as "Gens des Lacs de la Col[e]," meaning 'people of the lakes of the Columbia' (De Smet [1842-1848]).[5] De Smet also identified the mountainous divide west of the Arrow Lakes as the "Chaîne de Montagnes qui sépare les Shuyelp en chaudières des Okanagans," or 'mountain range that separates the *sx̱weyíʔlhp* [Colvilles] in/of the kettles [Kettle Falls] from the Okanagans,' and drew this boundary on the west side of the Columbia running from north of the Arrow Lakes south past the junction of the Spokane River with the Columbia. De Smet thus identified the "Lakes of the Columbia" as a separate group, but within the "Colville" dialect continuum (De Smet [1842-1848]).

Evidence of any other aboriginal groups having traditionally used the Arrow Lakes region before the mid-19th century is very weak. Notwithstanding, today other Okanagan-Colville speaking people besides the *sngaytskstx* assert an aboriginal interest in the area. As stated in one publication researched and published by the Okanagan Rights Committee, the *sngaytskstx* comprised one of the eight organized districts in a "very well organized" Okanagan Nation presided over by one "High Chief" from the Northern Okanagan District of "*Nkmepelks*" [*nk'mápelek̓s*, 'head of lake'] (Maracle *et al.* 1993-1994: 4-9), a community situated at the head of Okanagan Lake. Ethnographer James Teit, based on discussions with Okanagan-Colville people around 1900, also wrote of the political unity of the Okanagan-Colville people. Teit (1930b:266) described how a Head Chief named "*Pelkamū'lôx* often traveled to all the bands of the tribe, visiting first here and then there. He also traveled extensively among the neighbouring tribes...". Not all aboriginal people consulted by Teit agreed that the Head Chief represented *all* the Okanagan-Colville speaking people, however, and he raised the possibility that the *sngaytskstx* were not included:

> It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagan territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part, under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe — one of each side of the line (Teit 1930b:263).

Among the Lakes themselves, they apparently recognized one Head Chief, who was assisted by an advisory council. Ethnographic data specific to the Lakes are silent on the issue of any higher political authority above this level (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:76-77; Ray 1952:147).

Some relatively recent local histories and popular ethnographies compiled by non-Natives also associate "Okanagans" with the Arrow Lakes area. However, these associations appear to be based on an identification of the Arrow Lakes inhabitants speaking the Okanagan-Colville *language*, a dialect of which was spoken by the Lakes Indians (see Sections 1.3.1- 1.3.2 of the present report). A local history prepared by Kate Johnson, originally published in 1951 and reprinted in 1964, appears to refer to Okanagan-Colville speakers generically as "Okinakens." Mrs. Johnson states that the "Okinaken" [Okanagan] Indians "from what is now the Okanagan country" made their homes on the shore lands of Lower Arrow Lake and considered

this area their private hunting and fishing grounds. Johnson's generic use of the term Okanagan is shown in the same paragraph, where she notes that following a truce with the Kutenai, "the Colvilles, of which the Okinakens were a branch, retained the fishing rights of the Arrow Lakes" (Johnson 1964:7).[6] Olga Johnson's 1969 study of the Kutenai makes occasional references to Salish Indians near the study area as "Okanagan" (Johnson 1969:22,53), but her identifications of aboriginal people other than the Flathead and Kutenai (with whom she is most familiar) are inconsistent. A 1989 book on the Arrow Lakes whose authorship is collectively attributed to the Arrow Lakes Historical Society states that the Okanagan were one of three Native groups which inhabited the area — the Colville and the Kutenai being the other — with no mention being made of the Lakes as a separate group, and presumably being subsumed under the rubric "Colville" (Arrow Lakes Historical Society 1989:8).[7]

Some Northern Okanagan people are recorded ethnographically as having made occasional visits to the Arrow Lakes, and for that matter, further east to the Kutenai country.[8] But we are aware of no documented and verifiable sources which indicate that the Northern Okanagan lived on the Arrow Lakes, or used this area on a regular basis.

Evidence of traditional Shuswap use of the Arrow Lakes themselves is also very limited. The principal source generally cited as evidence of such use is ethnographer James Teit's 1909 monograph on the Shuswap. Teit's map of Shuswap territory in this monograph was based on his research among the Shuswap undertaken between 1900 and 1904 (Teit 1909:450). The map delineates a vast area of south-central British Columbia bounded in the north by the vicinity of McBride, in the east and southeast by the Rocky Mountains and the upper Columbia River area, in the south by Armstrong and the Lower Arrow Lake, and in the west by an area extending from near the upper Bridge River northwards (along an area up to 30 miles west of the Fraser River) to the vicinity of Soda Creek (Teit 1909:450, 453-456). The Arrow Lakes are thus included within this definition of Shuswap territory.

Teit's Shuswap monograph also contains textual references which indicate that, on the basis of his 1900-1904 research, he considered the land around the Arrow Lakes to be Shuswap territory. Teit stated that:

> It seems the Arrow Lakes were more or less disputed ground, a band of Okanagon in Washington claiming them almost to as far north as Revelstoke. On the whole, however, they seem to have been more frequently occupied and utilized by the Shuswap. I shall call these people the Shuswap Lake division (Teit 1909:455).

Teit thus *initially* identified the Native people utilizing the Arrow Lakes area as the "Arrow Lake Band" of the "*Sxstê 'llEmux*" Division of the Shuswap (Teit 1909:455). Teit's published reference to "a band of Okanagon in Washington" claiming the Arrow Lakes country "almost to as far north as Revelstoke" is clearly a reference to the Lakes Indians. However, in his fieldnotes likely made circa 1904, Teit indicated that he believed the term "*Sin natch eggs*" [*sngaytskstx*] referred to a *Shuswap* group — he stated in these fieldnotes that the "*Sin natch eggs*" were "up Arrow Lake" and wrote in an adjacent marginal note "(Think Shuswap)" (Teit n.d.).

Teit's conclusions in his published Shuswap monograph are often cited as support for the assertion of a Shuswap presence as far south as the Arrow Lakes. This is not tenable however, because it ignores the fact that Teit subsequently

completely repudiated his conclusions about Shuswap use of the Arrow Lakes area. On the basis of information he received *after* reaching his initial conclusions about Shuswap use of Arrow Lakes, he concluded that the territory had traditionally belonged to the *Lakes* people, and that the Shuswap had *not* traditionally occupied this area. He made this correction not once, but several times, and in considerable detail.

The process by which Teit changed his opinion about the traditional use of the Arrow Lakes, and the reasons for these changes, are laid out in his unpublished fieldnotes and correspondence. His published Shuswap monograph (Teit 1909:447) indicated that when he was gathering his Shuswap data between 1900 and 1904, he had not actually visited the Arrow Lakes area. Teit made his first visit to the area in May 1909, which was, coincidentally, about the time that his Shuswap monograph was being published. He spent four days and nights with the family of a well-informed *sngaytskstx* woman named Antoinette Christian, who lived at the confluence of the Kootenay River with the Columbia River, on the present site of Brilliant.[9]

In a letter to anthropologist Franz Boas dated May 20th, 1909, Teit reported that while with the Christian family, he "questioned them on all the most important matters" that he could think of and "wrote down a vocabulary of 900 words of their language" (Teit 1898- 1910).[10] Teit's fieldnotes made at this time state:

> Boundaries: Lakes all country along both banks Columbia from around Marcus & Newport up to beyond Revelstoke including Rossland & Trail on west. Kootenay River up to Lake around Nelson or a little above although not much used at least lately. All Slocan River & Slocan & Trout Lakes (Teit n.d.).

Teit did not simply accept this new information from Lakes sources at face value, but verified it by cross-checking it among the Shuswap and other sources. *He then concluded that he had erred in the Shuswap monograph, and that the Arrow Lakes were in the traditional territory of the Lakes, not the Shuswap.* Teit provided an explanations of this conclusion in his unpublished "Notes to Maps of the Pacific Northwest:"

> In my paper on the Shuswap [Teit 1909] I allowed the Shuswap the territory along the Arrow Lakes almost down to Robson. I had not then been in that district, and was misled by some statements of the Shuswap of the Shuswap Lake region, which appeared to be corroborated by white testimony,[11] to the effect that the Arrow Lake country was former Shuswap territory, partly occupied in recent years by Colville Indians chiefly for hunting and trapping purposes. This is not correct. The Lake tribe occupied from very early times all the country in British Columbia as outlined on the accompanying map, and I have been unable so far to collect any evidence that any part of the territory was ever occupied by other tribes. Further inquiry among the Shuswap confirms this. The only part seemingly in doubt is the extreme north, the old Revelstoke band having been much mixed with Shuswap (Teit 1910-1913).

Teit provided further details on his correction, and the process by which he arrived at his new conclusion, in a letter of April 1st, 1910 to Dr.

C.F. Newcombe of the Provincial Museum in Victoria. Commenting on the ethnographic map of the province prepared under Newcombe's direction (and which had incorporated data from Teit's Shuswap monograph), Teit stated that:

> The Shuswap boundaries are all correct excepting part to the south, but this is my mistake not yours. You have the boundaries as I give them in the map attached to my paper on the Shuswap. But last year I ascertained for certain the boundaries near Arrow Lakes are wrong. I went through this region last year and made sure of this point. The country from the mouth of the Kettle River following up the Columbia & taking in the Lower and Upper Arrow Lakes north to or slightly beyond Revelstoke was occupied by the Lakes or Lake Indians, a tribe very closely related to the Chaudiere or Colville Indians and speaking a dialect very close to the Okanagon. These people occupied Trout Lake, Slocan Lake & River and the Kootenay River up to a point on the Lake about Nelson or slightly east of same. I have all the tribal boundaries in this region pretty well defined now (Teit 1910).

Teit's revised views about the Arrow Lakes' traditional inhabitants were incorporated into a further map he prepared (Teit 1910-1913; see Figure 14). However because neither the revised map nor his letters correcting his initial error were published, Teit's published — and thus relatively more accessible — 1909 Shuswap map and text are still often mistakenly perceived as representing his conclusions about the traditional use of the Arrow Lakes.

As far as we know, the only *published* account appearing during Teit's lifetime which reflected his revised conclusions on this subject was a 1914 chapter on the Tribes of the B.C. Interior written for the *Canada and its Provinces* historical series. There, Teit indicated that the Shuswap on the Columbia River occupied only the area "from Revelstoke to its head." He also identified the "Senijextee or Lake Tribe" as living:

> along the Columbia River and near the Arrow Lakes from Revelstoke south; along the Slocan River and Lake; along the Kootenay River below the Lake; near the west arm of Kootenay Lake and in a part of the Kettle River valley (Teit 1914:284).

Teit's posthumously-published volume on the Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, edited by Franz Boas (Teit 1930b), made the *sngaytskstx* presence on the Arrow Lakes explicit in considerable detail. Teit thus clearly and unequivocally determined ultimately that the Arrow Lakes,Columbia River (to north from Revelstoke), Kootenay River, Slocan, and Trout Lake portions of the present study region were within traditional Lakes territory.

However, Teit *did* record, in notes he made in May 1909, that the Shuswap occasionally came to the Arrow Lakes to get resources — he also noted that when the Shuswap did so, they were consciously visiting Lakes territory. Teit indicated as well that the Shuswap came because they were on good terms with the Lakes Indians, and that their use of the territory around the Arrow Lakes was generally seasonally limited. According to Teit, the Shuswap:

> were always on good terms with the Lakes and often hunted and fished with them. They very seldom wintered on any part of the lakes or

river however. Numbers of them came across the mountains to Revelstoke where sometimes in the fall there were as many Shuswap as Lakes. At the end of the fishing and berrying these people went up the Columbia on trapping & hunting expeditions or returned to Shuswap Lake. The other place where the Shuswap reached the Lakes was by the Fire Valley trail to lower Arrow Lake.[12] They sometimes stayed most of the fall hunting cariboo and fishing. These people came from Spallumcheen & generally returned home for the winter (Teit 1908-1920).

Elsewhere, Teit also recorded that both the Shuswap and *sngaytskstx* "came in contact" on

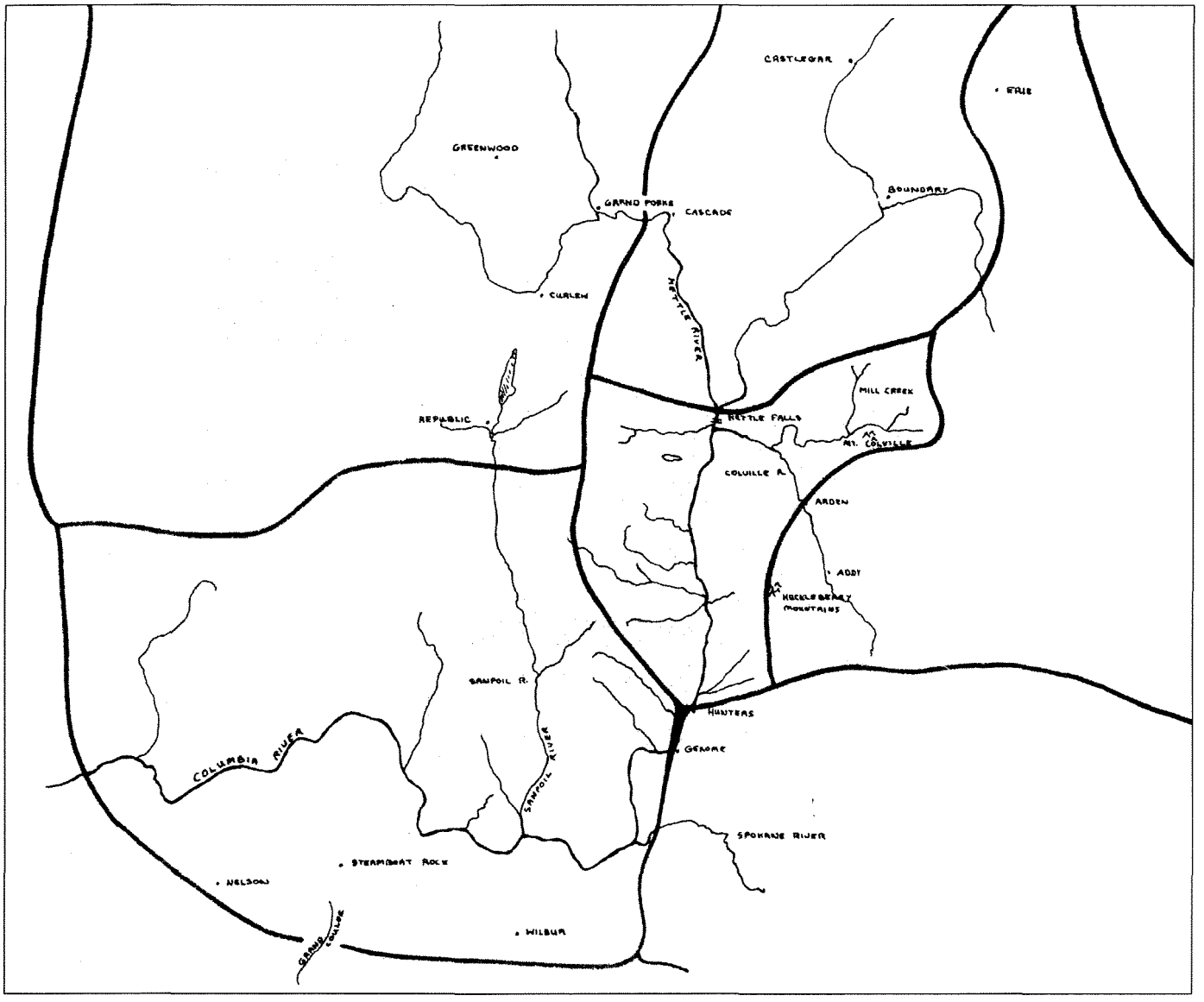


Figure 14. Tracing of James Teit's (1910-1913) map showing tribal boundaries of the Lakes, Sanpoil, and Colville, circa 1825-1855. American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia. Boas Collection 372, Roll 4, No. 1, Item 59.

Lower Arrow Lake. He stated that:

> Both tribes fished on Lower Arrow Lake. The Shuswaps had their main camp at the head of Lower Arrow Lake, and the Lakes had their main camp at the junction of the Kootenai River with the Columbia (Teit 1907-1910).

The most recent scholarly summary of Shuswap culture (Boelscher Ignace 1998) reflects Teit's correction of the conclusions in his published 1909 Shuswap monograph about the southern limits of Shuswap territory. Boelscher Ignace's (1998:204) map extends the territory of the Shuswap Lake Division down the Columbia to a point just *above* Upper Arrow Lake, but that Lake itself, and all territory to its south, are not depicted as being within traditional Shuswap territory.

Evidence of *pre-contact* Kutenai use of the Arrow Lakes area is also very weak, although there is some evidence of intermittent use after the improvement of *sngaytskstx-* Kutenai relations in the mid-19th century. As well, there is evidence that the Kutenai were making some use of the area in the early 20th century.

The principal ethnographic source indicating traditional Kutenai use of the Arrow Lakes is H.H. Turney-High's 1941 map of Kutenai territory, compiled from information given by his Kutenai consultants.[13] Turney-High pointed out that the map did not represent his own definite views, but the majority viewpoints of the Kutenai elders he interviewed. He did, however, agree with their claim to the Arrow Lakes, with some reservations (Turney-High 1941:24).[14] Turney-High noted that Ray and others allocated the land from west of Kootenay Lake west to the Arrow Lakes to the "Lakes" Indians, and disagreed with this conclusion because in 1939-1940, when he did his research, his Kutenai consultants could not identify these "Lakes" Indians, and he himself did not know who they were. Turney-High stated that:

> It is not entirely clear whom [Ray] and his authorities mean by "Lakes" Indians. The Kutenai informants have never heard of them by this name. Neither have the Canadian and United States Indian Agents questioned. Neither have the priests at St. Eugene Mission. At best, then, the term "Lakes" is a dubious one from the Kutenai standpoint. In trying to make a possible identification of the "Lakes" people, informants used Kutenaian terms meaning Colville and Okanagan (Turney-High 1941:24).

In 1940, Turney-High attempted to clarify the use of this western territory claimed by the Kutenai. He indicated that he requestioned every available consultant at Bonner's Ferry, Creston, Tobacco Plains and Flathead Lake. He noted that:

> with one exception, they all claimed Arrow Lake and its shores, although admitting that there were no Kutenai villages there. They said that the lake was one of their important sources of fish, that their fathers regularly visited it by canoe, and that they expected to find no enemy or rival there or on the way there (Turney-High 1941:25).

He did note that one of his Kutenai consultants — Chief David of Bonner's Ferry — admitted "that the Kutenai could not proceed westward of Kootenay Lake without fighting" (Turney- High 1941:25). Turney-High decided to depict the majority view in his map, and thought that the issue "must be considered a moot point, perhaps

unsolvable at this date" (Turney-High 1941:25).[15]

Several ethnohistoric sources refer to the extent of Kutenai territory. In 1884, George Dawson published a map and supplementary information which recorded the Kutenai western boundaries broadly. This map defined "Akoklako[16] or Lower Kootanie" borders as including the Kootenay Lake country, the Kootenai River below to its mouth, and all of the Columbia River below Castlegar within Canadian territory, and continuing south across the border to around Northport, Washington (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:pocket map). Subsequently, on the basis of additional information received,[17] Dawson revised his earlier view and placed the Kutenai boundary much further to the east, at Bonnington Falls on the Kootenay River (Dawson 1890:19b; 1892:6, 45). Not even Dawson's earlier, more expansive recording of Kutenai boundaries includes the Arrow lakes within Kutenai territory however.

Indeed, it appears that the only ethnohistoric source that extends Kutenai territory to the Arrow Lakes is an 1872 report and map by British Columbia Superintendent of Indian Affairs I.W. Powell (1872; 1873). Powell described the "Kootenay Nation" as being located "on the Kootenay, Pend d'Oreille & Columbia Rivers in the Kootenay District" (Powell 1873). His map places the western boundary of the Kutenai along the eastern bank of the Columbia River, and on the eastern shore of the two Arrow Lakes. The Arrow Lakes themselves, and the west bank of the Columbia, are classified within the "Shuswap Nation" (Powell 1872). The accuracy of Powell's report is highly questionable, given that Powell did not identify the Lakes Indians existing anywhere on his map, or enumerate them in his report. The Okanagan Indians are not mentioned at all in either Powell's report or map. It is far more likely that Powell's conclusions reflect an imperfect understanding of the traditional Native presence in this area than it does an accurate rendering of Kutenai boundaries.

The Kutenai boundary identified by Turney-High is clearly only supportable in the *absence* of evidence of traditional Lakes Indian use of the Arrow Lakes area. Turney-High believed that insufficient evidence existed to make any conclusive determination of traditional occupancy, and so accepted the statements of his Kutenai consultants. However, ample ethnographic and ethnohistoric material illustrates traditional Lakes use of the Arrow Lakes area. Some of this data would not have been available to Turney-High.[18] However, other information which was available just does not seem to have been fully used. Even though the Lakes had not been living permanently in large numbers in the Arrow Lakes region for about 70 years when Turney-High did his work, material on the Lakes had been published and was available to him. In addition to Ray, both Hodge (1907) and Teit (1930b) described the Lakes (the latter in considerable detail), and both were cited in Turney-High's references. His conclusion that the identity of the Lakes was unclear thus hardly seems warranted.

Turney-High's views about the Arrow Lakes being within traditional Kutenai territory are not supported in the most recent scholarly synthesis of the Kutenai, written by Bill Brunton for the Plateau Volume of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians*. Brunton (1998:223) compiled a map of Kutenai territory at the time of contact in 1792 which places the Lakes-Kutenai boundary well to the east of the Arrow Lakes, near the Kootenay Lake West Arm but slightly west from where we place it (see Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:22a; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:240).[19]

While we do not consider that Turney-High's views about the extent of traditional Kutenai territory are supportable, we believe that the data recorded by Turney-High about Kutenai use of the Arrow Lakes does reflect *some* later Kutenai use of the area, in the late 19th and early 20th century, after *sngaytskstx* use of the Arrow Lakes had been greatly reduced following the permanent resettlement of many of them south to the Kettle Falls region by about 1870.[20] This would be consistent with Turney-High's statement that his Kutenai consultants told him that their fathers regularly visited the Arrow Lakes by canoe (Turney-High 1941:25). Evidence also suggests that by the 1850s, following the establishment of Catholic missions among both the Kutenai and the *sngaytskstx*, and the emphasis attached to the Church on the groups maintaining peaceful relations, Lakes-Kutenai relations improved. This appears to have led to some use by the Kutenai of this area in the 1850s for fishing (and may in turn have led to a greater *sngaytskstx* presence on Kootenay Lake). This did not mean that the Lakes increasingly "shared" the use of the Arrow lakes with the Kutenai however, much less that they abdicated the area entirely to the Kutenai, as the Lakes use of the region became less frequent. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence that in the late 19th century the Lakes were continuing to claim exclusive hunting rights around the Arrow Lakes and that they actively excluded the Kutenai from the area when they felt encroached.

This gradual movement of the Lakes people away from their traditional territories towards the south is recorded in the ethnohistoric literature. These data indicate that the demographic shift was simply an adaptation of traditional *sngaytskstx* movement patterns, and not the consequence of a population reduction resulting from either war or disease. Also recorded is the fact that despite the migration, the Lakes did not willingly relinquish what they considered to be their traditional rights in the Arrow Lakes area.

The initial change in the Lakes' settlement patterns, which had previously seen them migrate to the fishery at Kettle Falls on the Columbia River in the summer, but winter further north, can be traced to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post of Fort Colvile[21] near Kettle Falls in 1825. Shortly after the post was established, the post's records indicate that the *sngaytskstx* stopped returning north to their own lands for the winter, and began wintering near the fort. The Fort Colvile post journal for 1830-1831 recorded that this change in settlement patterns first took place during the winter of 1830. Francis Heron, the trader in charge of Fort Colvile, wrote that he had asked the Lakes people to return to their traditional wintering grounds further upriver, after they had participated in a winter dance at Kettle Falls. Before they could return, however, the Columbia River froze. Since the Lakes were unable to return home in their bark canoes, they remained at Fort Colville, the first known time they had wintered that far south (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831).

After the 1830s, many Lakes people began to spend winters as well as summers within American territory. A Hudson's Bay Company officer at Fort Vancouver in July 1852 indicated that the Arrow Lakes Indians were remaining around Fort Colvile well into the spring, and suggested that a small outpost be established somewhere on the Arrow Lakes, as:

> the fishing and hunting grounds are principally there or in that neighbourhood, and it was with the view of accustoming the Indians to get their supplies at that place that I recommended it. I was also anxious to remove the Indians from Fort Colvile

> where they now spend too much of the Spring, and thereby considerably diminish their hunts (Ballenden 1852).

By 1861, an officer with the Northwest Boundary Commission reported that the Lakes were spending as much time south of the border as north. Lt.-Col. J.S. Hawkins stated that:

> the valley of the Columbia north of the Boundary is represented to be very sterile; and it is certain that it has no inhabitants north of the "Lake Indians" who seem to live as much south as north of the 49th parallel, and who share in the proceeds of the Salmon fishery at the Kettle falls near Colville, so that they must be considered as much American as British subjects. They do not appear to be in the habit of going far above the parallel, excepting for the purposes of hunting (Hawkins 1861).

From the American side of the border, Major C.H. Rumrill of Fort Colville reported in June 1864 that the "Lake Indians" were one of seven tribes "directly dependent upon this post" and indicated that a number of Indians were "constantly coming and going from British Columbia" (Rumrill 1864). By about 1870, this gradual southward movement had resulted in the Lakes settling along the banks of the Columbia north of Kettle Falls, and in the Colville Valley (Winans 1871).

The relocation by about 1870 of the primary residence of the Lakes to within American territory was recognized by authorities on both sides of the border. American officials included the Lakes among those groups assigned to the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State, when it was initially set aside by Executive Order in April 1872 (McKenney 1872a; 1872b). The previous year, in 1871, a Canadian man travelling along the Columbia River north of the United States border would record that at that time only "a small band of Indians under Gregoire [a well-known Lakes man], a Chief" was still in the area (Galbraith 1914).[22] Father R.P. Fouquet, in describing the people served in January 1875 by St. Eugene's Mission near Cranbrook, included a few families of "Colvilles" [Lakes] (Fouquet 1875). By 1886, a Lieutenant G.B. Hoppin out of Fort Spokane would report that:

> The Indians settled in the angle of the Columbia and Kettle Rivers are a very prosperous, thrifty and hard working lot of people. They belong to the "Lakes", [Underlining in original] but have within the past few years settled here, built good houses, with shingle roofs, good barns and corrals. Most of them have a few cows and milk them (Hoppin 1886).

There is, nevertheless, considerable evidence that some of the Lakes people who wintered on the Colville Reservation continued to come north to the Arrow Lakes each year, particularly for hunting, but also to do some fishing and berry gathering. Some Lakes families were recorded as maintaining seasonal homes along the Arrow Lakes, particularly at Brilliant and Oatscott, throughout the 19th century. The evidence indicates that the Lakes people who continued to use the Arrow Lakes in the late 19th century aggressively defended their continued claims to the use of traditionally important areas, and are recorded in several instances as having insisted that they were the proper owners of the places on which they traditionally made their camps. They attempted to discourage non-Native settlement in such places. They also reportedly excluded the Kutenai from the area.

Information about this aggressive *sngaytskstx* defence of their traditionally-used areas around the Arrow Lakes was recorded following an incident in May 1894 in which a Lakes Indian known to the whites as "Cultus Jim" was killed at Galena Bay on Upper Arrow Lake in a dispute with a settler over ownership of land there. Following this shooting, the perceived problem of "Colville" Indians, and their aggressive defence of their property rights on the Arrow Lakes, was taken up by a local newspaper, and eventually reached the floor of the Provincial Legislature in Victoria. The *Kootenay Mail*, a Revelstoke newspaper, in initially reporting the shooting of "Cultus Jim," stated that:

> The Columbia River and its tributaries have for generations past been the hunting grounds of a certain tribe of Indians now known as the "Colville Indians." Colville is in the domain of Uncle Sam, and these Indians have no right to cross the boundary and hunt in British Columbia. But in view of the fact that their forefathers hunted here and looked upon both shores of the Columbia as their own especial preserves, great laxity has always been allowed them, and they had hunted for two hundred miles up the river from their own reservation at Colville. The camp of this tribe was right here in Revelstoke last summer and they killed cariboo and smaller game all through the close season, which white men are not permitted to do (*Kootenay Mail* 1894a).

The identification is clearly to the *sngaytskstx*, as none of the other tribes settled on or near the Colville Reservation is known to have utilized the Arrow Lakes region. This newspaper's information was that these people had used the entire Arrow Lakes region for a very long time, that their forefathers had hunted there, and that they considered both sides of the Columbia exclusively "as their own especial preserves."

Concern over the continued incursions of the Lakes Indians led J. Fred Hume, the M.P.P for Southern Kootenay, to ask leave on December 3rd, 1894 to move a motion in the Provincial Legislature asking the federal government to take measures with the United States government to keep these aboriginal people from coming north, on the grounds that their customary use of the Arrow Lakes to hunt specifically excluded the Canadian Kutenai from using the area. Hume's resolution stated:

> that whereas, owing to custom, the Indians of the State of Washington in the United States do annually come into British Columbia and hunt along the Columbia River and Arrow Lakes, and by so doing exclude the Indians of Kootenay, in British Columbia, from following the chase in those parts of the Province above mentioned:
>
> And whereas there are known cases of maltreating of settlers along said river and lakes; Be it therefore resolved, that an humble address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, praying him to move the Dominion Government to take such steps that may be deemed advisable with the United States Government to exclude these Indians from crossing the international boundary (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).[23]

The *Kootenay Mail* also noted that these

"Colville" Indians continued to exclude the Kutenai from the Arrow Lakes, and complained that their attempts to exclude non-Native settlers stemmed from what the newspaper saw as a mistaken belief that their traditional authority over the land in the days before settlement still had validity:

> As between the Kootenays and Colvilles, it was settled long ago by their barbarous wars that the Columbia valley was the territory of the Colvilles, and the Kootenays do not even now trespass upon it, but the Colvilles appears to be acting upon the idea that the ancient wars which drove the Kootenays over the Selkirks are good at this day against white settlers who want to make homes along the Columbia in West Kootenay (*Kootenay Mail* 1895b).

In April 1895, the *Kootenay Mail* presented an extensive series of interviews illustrating what they called the problematic "attitude of the Indians on the Columbia River towards the whites who have made efforts to settle and get a living there" (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a). The newspaper emphasized the problem of what it termed these "Dangerous Colvilles," stating that it was presenting this information:

> relating to Indian depredations on the Columbia in considerable detail and running through several years, although several of them are not of an aggravated character, in order to show the settled determination of the Colville Indians to claim and enforce their claim to the Columbia River valley, against all legitimate white settlers, by intimidation and force. . . (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

Numerous statements were recorded from Whites indicating that these "Colville" Indians were continuing to come regularly up the Columbia to the Arrow Lakes region. For example, Robert Sanderson, a steamboat captain, indicated in 1895 that during his previous six years of travelling the Columbia, he had become familiar with "Colville" Indians[24] on the Columbia trapping, fishing and hunting.He also indicated that in the summer and fall, the Indians lived along the river "in considerable numbers" (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a). Another newspaper article published in 1899 discussed disputes between Lakes people and settlers around Brilliant, the Slocan mouth and Nelson in the late 1880s and early 1890s (*Nelson Daily Miner* 1899b).

The shooting of "Cultus Jim" did not stop these seasonal migrations. In the fall of 1895, these "Colville" Indians were recorded as still coming to the Arrow Lakes and asserting rights there. The *Kootenay Mail* reported on September 21st, 1895 that:

> The Siwashes [Indian people] from Colville, who each fall make a rendezvous of the islands opposite the town, [Revelstoke] undertook to assert imaginary rights this week and were promptly squelched by Commissioner Graham. Some townspeople visited the locality one day and were engaged in the very peaceful pastime of angling when they were set upon by the Siwashes who stoned them and their boat. The savages were cited before the commissioner and were told they had either to behave themselves or get out (*Kootenay Mail* 1895c).

The continued presence of Lakes people at camps all along the Arrow Lakes between Nakusp and

Robson was noted in November 1896. A person using the pen name of "A Disgusted Sportsman" wrote a letter to the editor of the *Nelson Daily Miner* complaining that:

> Can you give the public the names of the officials responsible for the disgraceful disregard for the game laws of British Columbia, on the lakes of the West Kootenay and particularly in the district? Strung along the lake from Nakusp to Robson, camps of Colville reservation Indians are to be seen sweeping the hills clear of all four footed game while the good fish streams are doubled trapped. Are the game laws of B.C. framed exclusively for these maraunders; or for the protection of the game? Have the rascals routed out immediately (*Nelson Daily Miner* 1896).

Exactly when and why these significant regular migrations of Lakes people ceased is not known, although it seems that the decline in use was gradual, and likely related to increased non-Native settlement around, and use of, the Lakes' traditional hunting lands around Revelstoke.[25] Occasional references in newspapers, Indian Agency records, and game wardens' reports indicate that some Colville Tribal members were still continuing to come north in the early 20th century, particularly to the area around Red Mountain, near Rossland. For example, in October 1908, Kootenay Indian Agent Galbraith recorded the presence of one such elderly pair of sojourners. He informed a correspondent that:

> I believe I know the old Indian on whose behalf you write, his name is Isaac, and he has a sort of dual allegiance, sometimes he is a U.S. Lake [?] and sometimes King George . . . When Baptiste Christian returns, would you kindly say to him from me that it is his duty to urge the old man and woman to return to his friends in the Colville Agency U.S. (Galbraith 1908c).

In February 1908, a man from Burton City reported that Indians from the "Kolville Reserve" in Washington were hunting game (Reineker 1908). In early September 1908, the Deputy Game Warden at Rossland recorded that:

> It was reported to me there was American Indians after Deer on Velvet Mountain. I went there, found two Indians camped there with rifles but no game[.] I made them pull out for the other side (Rutherford 1908).

In April 1912 a man from Paterson, on Sheep Creek south of Rossland at the international border, reported to the Provincial Game Warden that:

> the Indians come in here through the mountains and come along the boundary line and they hunt on this side and they kill a grate many dear and they drive a gradeal [great deal] more across the line...
>
> During the winter they come in sometimes and the spring to hunt Bear and dear, but they come mostly in the early summer and fall... the Indians came along the line and you can't drive them away... (Shaw 1912).

Lakes and Colville Native consultants we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s also recalled that some *sngaytskstx* people continued to go north of the border regularly, particularly to pick

huckleberries on and around Red Mountain. They recalled Lakes people going to this area up until around 1930 (see also Section 3.2 that follows).

Traditional *sngaytskstx* use of the Arrow Lakes area was very reliant on their use of the canoe, which was the most effective way to travel their extensive territory along its interconnected water routes. The Lakes people were thus much more mobile in this area than other Okanagan-Colville groups like the Northern Okanagan. The Lakes, Kalispel, Lower Kutenai, and some Shuswap groups used a distinctive sturgeon-nosed canoe made from the bark of white pine (*Pinus monticola*) which was large enough to carry several people. Dugout canoes were also sometimes made, using ponderosa pine, cedar, cottonwood, or grand fir (Teit 1930b:248; Elmendorf 1935-1936:8-8a; Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:149). In contrast, horses were less important to the Lakes.[26] This waterborne mobility was particularly important because the data indicate that the best resource areas available to the *sngaytskstx* were quite far apart geographically, but were connected by these waterborne highways. While Lakes fisheries included the Arrow Lakes, the Slocan region, and Trout Lake, their principal salmon fishery was further south, at Kettle Falls in Washington State. Similarly, while the *sngaytskstx* are recorded as having several important hunting areas in their territory, perhaps the best of all was at the northern extremity of their lands, the area around and north of Revelstoke.

These hunting lands were particularly important, because the data indicate that meat was the most important component of the traditional *sngaytskstx* diet. The Lakes certainly ate fish, and gathered plants for food, but meat was their principal traditional staple. This importance of meat to their diet led an early observer on the Arrow Lakes, the Catholic missionary Joseph Joset, to conclude that the Lakes people were "nomadic trappers subsisting primarily on bear and deer" (Joset n.d.). This emphasis on meat reflects the fact that the Arrow Lakes region was particularly rich in game animals during and before the mid-19th century.

Much less has been recorded about Kutenai use of the Arrow Lakes — their use of the lakes historically appears to have been very limited. The principal reason for this seems to have been the fact that the Lakes-Kutenai relationship was not traditionally a friendly one, and was punctuated by intermittent hostilities, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Ethnographic data recorded from Lakes people clearly identify the Kutenai as the Lakes' principal traditional enemies. Kutenai ethnographic information about relations with the Lakes is more uneven, primarily because identification of the *sngaytskstx* by Kutenai consultants had become uncertain by the time such information was recorded. Turney-High indicated that his Kutenai consultants interviewed in 1939 and 1940 stated they were uncertain to whom the English term "Lakes" referred, and in trying to make a possible identification of them, used Kutenaian terms meaning Colville and Okanagan (Turney-High 1941:24).[27]

According to Turney-High (1941:24) the Kutenai knew the Okanagan by their own name, "*okanágen,*"[28] and considered them to be enemies. The Colville were known by the Lower Kutenai as "*kapkłének,*" the "People of the Water-Fall." Turney-High (1941:31) was told that "these people were rarely met, but all meetings were hostile," although since "the preaching" of Father De Smet in the 1840s, the groups had seen more of each other. Teit recorded that "latterly" (in the early 1900s) there had been marriages between Lakes and Kutenai. He was told that:

> Lake Kootenays have some Lake blood & Lakes a little Kootenay & Shuswap blood. At present day one Shus[wap] & one Koot[enay] woman married Arrow Lake band (near Burton City) & one Lake man lives around crescent on Koot. Lake (Teit n.d.).

Some details about these hostile relations between the Kutenai and the Lakes have been recorded from Lakes sources, one of whom observed that the Kutenai and Shuswap both raided the Lakes and enslaved their women (Elmendorf 1935-36:I:1). Wars between the Kutenai and the Lakes were relatively rare, although at least one important conflict, over fishing rights, took place. Teit recorded that the Lakes had "some small fights and one great war" with the Kutenai. This "great war" took place when the Lower Kutenai tried, unsuccessfully, to drive the Lakes away from the fishery at the mouth of the Slocan River around 1800. Apparently a number of combats took place, with advantage going sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Teit recorded that in this war the "Kootenay & Lakes killed each other a great deal." Finally, the Lakes held a council and decided to put a stop to the war. They did this by undertaking a large expedition against the Lower Kutenai at Creston, killing a great many Kutenai. After this raid, the Kutenai ceased to attack the Lakes, and the Lakes and Kutenai subsequently became good friends (Teit n.d.; 1930b:258).

This raid may well be the same incident related to Ranald McDonald, the son of a Hudson's Bay Company official, who grew up at Fort Vancouver during the 1830s. McDonald later recalled that he had been told of a "Large war party of the lake Indians or Upper Columbia River Indians invading the Kutanays or Mountaineers," and defeating them (R. McDonald 1890).[29] The accounts of this war are consistent with the statement given by the Lower Kutenai Chief David of Bonner's Ferry to Turney-High that the Kutenai "could not proceed westward of Kootenay Lake without fighting" (Turney-High 1941:25). Or as Chief Louis Joseph of the Burton (Oatscott) Reserve reported in 1930, "In the days before Columbus was born the 'Indians' of the West and East Kootenays were at constant strife" (*Arrow Lake News* 1930).

Other ethnographic and ethnohistoric information also records hostilities between the Kutenai and the Lakes. In 1826, William Kittson recorded that on reaching the point where the rapids began just west of Kootenay Lake, he found a cave that he said was where the Kutenai "had made sacrifices to a spirit residing there" on their way back from "making war on the Kettle Falls Indians" (Kittson 1826).[30] Another major battle between the Lakes and Kutenai was described by an elderly Native woman to Arthur Farwell. Farwell lived in Nelson (and was the same man who compiled a report on the Kutenai for the provincial government in 1883) but the source in which this information was found did not indicate when or from whom Farwell recorded his information. The unidentified woman reported that the battle was "savage." One party camped at the site of what later became the C.P.R. flats west of Nelson, while the other party camped at Squires Point on the opposite shore (Affleck 1978:11).

Archaeological evidence of Lakes-Kutenai battles around the west arm of Kootenay Lake was collected by local artifact collector Robb Sutherland between 1914 and 1917. These artifacts were studied by the archaeologist Harlan I. Smith around 1930. Smith stated that in addition to "bleaching skeletons" that were once visible on the heights above Grohman Point at the

western end of the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, evidence that this was an "evidentally disputed" area included what he called a "picture stone" [pictograph] illustrating a battle fought between two war parties (H. Smith c.1930).

Most Lakes-Kutenai hostilities were generally on a much smaller scale than these battles, however, with fewer casualties typically being incurred. David Douglas recorded one such altercation between the Lakes and Kutenai at Fort Colvile in August of 1826. He said that "an old quarrel of nine years' standing" existed between the two groups when a party of twenty-one Kutenai men arrived at the fort, at which the Lakes were already present. Douglas described the confrontation between the two sides:

> The parties met stark naked in our camp, painted some red, black, white, and yellow, with their bows strung, and such as had muskets and ammunition were charged. Warcaps of calumet eagle feathers were the only particle of dress they had on. As one was in the act of letting the arrow from his bow, aiming at a chief of the other party, Mr. Dease fortunately brought him a blow on the nose which stunned him. The arrow grazed the skin and passed along the rib opposite the heart without doing much injury. The whole day was spent in clamour and haranguing, and as we were not too sure what might be the result, we were prepared for the worst (Wilks 1959:206-207).

Douglas recorded that Dease intervened, with the result that the following day, "peace" was agreed upon and marked by an exchange of presents and a feast (Wilks 1959:206-207).

Relations with the Kutenai seem to have improved by the 1850s. Turney-High's information that relations had improved with the "Colville" since "the preaching" of Father De Smet, who began ministering the Kutenai in the mid 1840s, is one indication of this (Turney-High 1941:31). The Catholic church's influence in improving relations between the Lakes and the Kutenai is also apparent in a reference to the last Lakes-Kutenai hostilities of which we are aware, which took place in August 1858. The explorer John Palliser recorded that the "Colville" [Lakes] and the Kutenai were then at war, stating that the Kutenai he met in the vicinity of Canal Flats:

> informed us ... that the Colville [Lakes] Indians had plundered them of their goods .. . we subsequently learnt that the Colville tribe and the Kootanies were then at war with one another; but the Kootanies did not wish to tell us this, as they were apprehensive we should carry the information to their missionaries (Spry 1963:279).

This resumption of Lakes-Kutenai hostilities appears to have been short-lived, and relations with the Lakes seem to have soon improved. Magistrate W.G. Cox, during a trip to the Kootenay/Columbia confluence in September-October 1861, was visited by a Kutenai man, his wife, and children several miles up the Columbia from Castlegar — these people had come across from Kutenai country, having left their canoe above Bonnington Falls (Cox 1861). The presence of this footbound traveller, and his family, appears to indicate that the Kutenai and Lakes were on better terms at that particular time. Dick Fry, a white man married to a Lakes woman, Justine "*Su-steel,* "[31] also recalled amicable Lakes-Kutenai relations in the late 1860s. Fry said that on the West Arm of Kootenay Lake:

> The Colville [Lakes] Indians and the Kootenays would gather every Indian summer and get redfish [kokanee] and meat, all they wanted and do their courting and gambling and have a big blow out and part for another year (Yuill 1918).

Still, the confrontations with the Interior Salish groups seem to have become an important part of Kutenai Lore. An Upper Kutenai elder, Jim Eneas of Windermere, told Olga Johnson in 1960 that "It was fight, fight, fight. Fight with Shuswap and Okanagon too, not just with Piegan" (Johnson 1969:191). The confrontation seems to have had a lingering effect on some Lakes Indian people as well. Nancy Wynecoop, Elmendorf's Lakes consultant interviewed in 1935-1936, had a very unfavourable impression of both the Kutenai and the Shuswap (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:1,68,71).

Over time, however, awareness of these formerly-hostile relations lessened. Lakes elders we interviewed in the 1970s and 1980s had much less knowledge of these past relations and indicated that these historically-antagonistic relationships had become less salient to subsequent generations of *sngaytskstx* people. For example, Charlie Quintasket recalled hearing about past conflicts between the Lakes and the Kutenai, but Julia Quintasket, his aunt, had never heard of any such troubles.

This history of Lakes-Kutenai hostility before the mid-19th century is reflected in the very limited data on traditional Kutenai use of the Arrow Lakes. Turney-High indicated that most of his Kutenai consultants, speaking of the two Arrow Lakes as one, said that this lake was one of their important sources of fish, although they admitted that there were no Kutenai villages there (Turney-High 1941:25). We are aware of only one ethnohistoric reference which may indicate specifically that the Kutenai fished in the Arrow Lakes in the 19th century. In August 1859, Captain John Palliser, in describing his proposed travels lower on the Kutenai in the vicinity of Wigwam River, remarked that:

> My intention had been from this place to have turned to the northward, followed up the Kootanie River to the entrance of the new "pass," which I established the year before, and thence to have endeavoured to cross the country, keeping north of the 49th parallel as far as the Columbia River; but we learned that there were no Indians fishing on or near the source of the Columbia, nor to the northward of us on the Kootanie River, as they had gone to the Columbia Lakes (Palliser, in Spry 1968:475).

Palliser had earlier used the term "Columbia Lakes" to refer to Lake Windermere and Columbia Lake at the head of the Columbia. In this instance, however, Palliser's reference to there being no Indians at the head of the Columbia appears to indicate that the reference may not be not to these two lakes, but to the Arrow Lakes, which were also occasionally called the "Columbia Lakes" in some sources. Palliser also recorded two other identifications related to this first incident which confirm that the Kutenai had gone to the Arrow Lakes. He made a second reference to this same incident in his journal of September 5th, 1859, which was more specific about the identification; he referred to the fact that he had been obliged to leave the area, partly because of the shortage of game, but also "on account of the absence of all the Indians, who were then fishing on the large Columbia Lakes" (Palliser, in Spry 1968:479).

Moreover, Palliser made another identification, on September 4th, 1859, which was likely related to the first incident. While Palliser was descending the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, he remarked:

> met Indians returning from Columbia River; had a fine feast of salmon for which I exchanged a shirt for two salmon, one four feet, the other four feet four inches long (Palliser, in Spry 1968:478).

Palliser had indicated on September 3rd that he passed the rough stretch of the Arm which included Bonnington Falls, so he encountered these Natives west of these points. While Lakes people were also recorded east of this area in this approximate time period, it is more likely, given that the people Palliser encountered were identified as returning from a fishery, that they were Kutenai.

It thus seems possible that non-resident Kutenai may have been using the Arrow Lakes by the late 1850s, given the generally warming trend in Lakes-Kutenai relations by that time. Magistrate Cox's 1861 recording of the presence of the Kutenai Chief Francois and his band at the Kootenay / Columbia confluence, and a lone Kutenai Indian and his family, on or near Lower Arrow Lake, also suggest such a conclusion.

Still, a small group having Kutenai ancestry appears to have been in the Arrow Lakes since the 1790s — these same people in 1825 referred to themselves as "*sinatcheggs*" (*sngaytskstx*). One of them, a stout elderly man who was camped near the south end of Upper Arrow Lake, approached Alexander Ross during Ross' travels up the Columbia River. The old man was accompanied by two youths, a Kutenai boy named Pelly and a Spokane boy named Garry. After an initial shyness, the old man gave Ross (1855:II:171) much information "respecting the country, beaver and other animals, and the Indians of the place." Ross wrote that the old man proceeded to tell his personal history:

> "My father," he said, "was a Kootanais chief; but in consequence of wars with the Blackfeet, who often visited his lands, he and part of his people emigrated to this country about thirty years ago. I am now chief of that band, and head of all the Indians here. We number about two hundred, and call ourselves Sinatcheggs, the name of the country; and here we have lived ever since. I have been across the land on the west, as far as the Sawthlelum-takut, or Okanagan Lake, which lies due west from this, and can be travelled on foot in six days. I and several of my people have likewise been to the She-waps, which lies in a northwest direction from this; but the road [trail] leading to the latter place strikes off two days' journey from this, and it takes eight days to accomplish it. We have no horses on our lands, nor is the country suitable for them; we make all our journeys on foot. . ." [The old man then told Ross:]. . . that his people were then living about two miles up the river, where they were employed in hunting wild animals and catching fish. . . . (1855:II:171-172).

The information recorded by Ross from this old man is important. The elderly man's identification of his people as "*Sinatcheggs*" is clear — "*Sinatcheggs*" is a transcription of the Okanagan-Colville term, *sngaytskstx*, that the Lakes people use for themselves, and this is the

same term that Ross wrote ("*Sin natch eggs*") on the Arrow Lakes, in this same general region of the lakes, on his 1821 map (Ross 1821). Moreover, this same term is explicitly identified elsewhere in the ethnohistoric record as identifying the Lakes Indians, not the Kutenai. For instance, John Work's 1830 Fort Colvile report (which, as already noted, identified the Lake Indians, Flatbow Kutenai, and Kutenai as three clearly distinct groups), identifies the Native term for the "Lake" Indians as "*Sinaeteht.*" [32] The actual ethnicity of the group named, on the basis of the best evidence — the recording of the Native name for that group — is clearly in the Okanagan-Colville language, not Kutenai.[33]

Ross's reference to the "*Sinatcheggs*" (*sngaytskstx*) chief identifying himself as the son of a Kutenai chief is more difficult to explain. Clearly, an identification of these people as simply being one of the groups of Kutenai who migrated from east of the Rockies in the late 18th century cannot be sustained, because of the clarity of their own identification as the *sngaytskstx*. This old man considered his group to be *sngaytskstx*, not Kutenai. It is possible, through tribal intermarriage, that the father of the old man was a Kutenai chief, and that the man fled his homeland to live in the area from where his mother originated. We are aware of no recorded evidence which would support or contradict such a proposition.

It is difficult to postulate that these *sngaytskstx* encountered by Ross in 1825 were originally a Kutenai group, with no *sngaytskstx* connection. Indeed, the linguistic evidence against such an explanation is overwhelming. Both Lakes and Colville are dialects of Okanagan-Colville, one of the languages comprising the Interior Salish division of the Salishan language family. The only significant dialect difference in this language is between the "Colville" dialect continuum (Sanpoil-Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes) and the "Okanagan" dialect continuum (Northern, Southern and Similkameen Okanagan, and Methow) (Bouchard and Kennedy 1979:6-7, 1984a:39; Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:1-2). The Lakes and Colville dialects are *extremely* similar. Indeed, James Teit (1907-1910) recorded in 1909 that the primary difference between these two dialects was the "exceedingly slow and measured" manner in which Lakes was spoken. Kutenai is an entirely different language, a linguistic isolate without clear linguistic ties to the languages of the Kutenais' neighbours. Even given the thirty-year period between the reported migration and Ross' encounter, the profound difference between the languages involved means that an identification of this "*Sinatcheggs*" group as Kutenai in origin, can only be accurate if the old man was of mixed ancestry and bilingual. The fact remains that he gave the name of his people, as well as the name for Okanagn Lake, in the Okanagan-Colville language.

Ethnohistoric evidence from the approximate time of Ross's expedition explicitly rules out any close connection between the Lakes and the Kutenai. Only one year later, in 1826, David Douglas would record ritual hostility between the Lakes and the Kutenai (Wilks 1959:206-207). And the 1830 Fort Colville Journals, recording that "the Kettle Falls and Lake Indians commenced a grand dance which is to last three days" (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831) clearly demonstrated the Lakes affinity with the Interior Salish Colville.

Other data indicate clearly that until the early 20th century the principal users of the area continued to be people who identified themselves as *sngaytskstx*, and that these *sngaytskstx* were Interior Salish, not Kutenai. The information gathered by the *Kootenay Mail* in 1894-1895 emphasized further that the Lakes presence

around the Arrow Lakes came at the expense of those Kutenai living to the east, who were particularly excluded from the valuable hunting grounds around the lakes.

Evidence that the Kutenai were making some use of the Arrow Lakes by the early 20th century seems relatively stronger, and coincides with what other sources record as a declining Lakes presence in the region. An early 20th century Kutenai presence on the Arrow Lakes is also more literally consistent with the statements of Turney-High's Kutenai consultants that their fathers used the lakes, and with the information recorded in 1894-1895 that the *sngaytskstx* Interior Salish were still using the Arrow Lakes and excluding the local Kutenai. In 1914, Indian Agent Galbraith implied that the Creston Kutenai were then fishing on the Arrow Lakes, when he stated that the Creston Kutenai:

> are strictly canoe Indians, and they fish around the lakes, and I think it would be a great mistake if any action was taken to remove them from there (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:80).

Galbraith's plural reference to lakes could be construed as implying that around 1914, the Creston Kutenai were fishing in the Arrow Lakes, as well as Kootenay Lake.

SOME PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE CENTERED IN THE ARROW LAKES REGION, BEGINNING AT THE BIG BEND AND ENDING AT THE CANADA/US BORDER

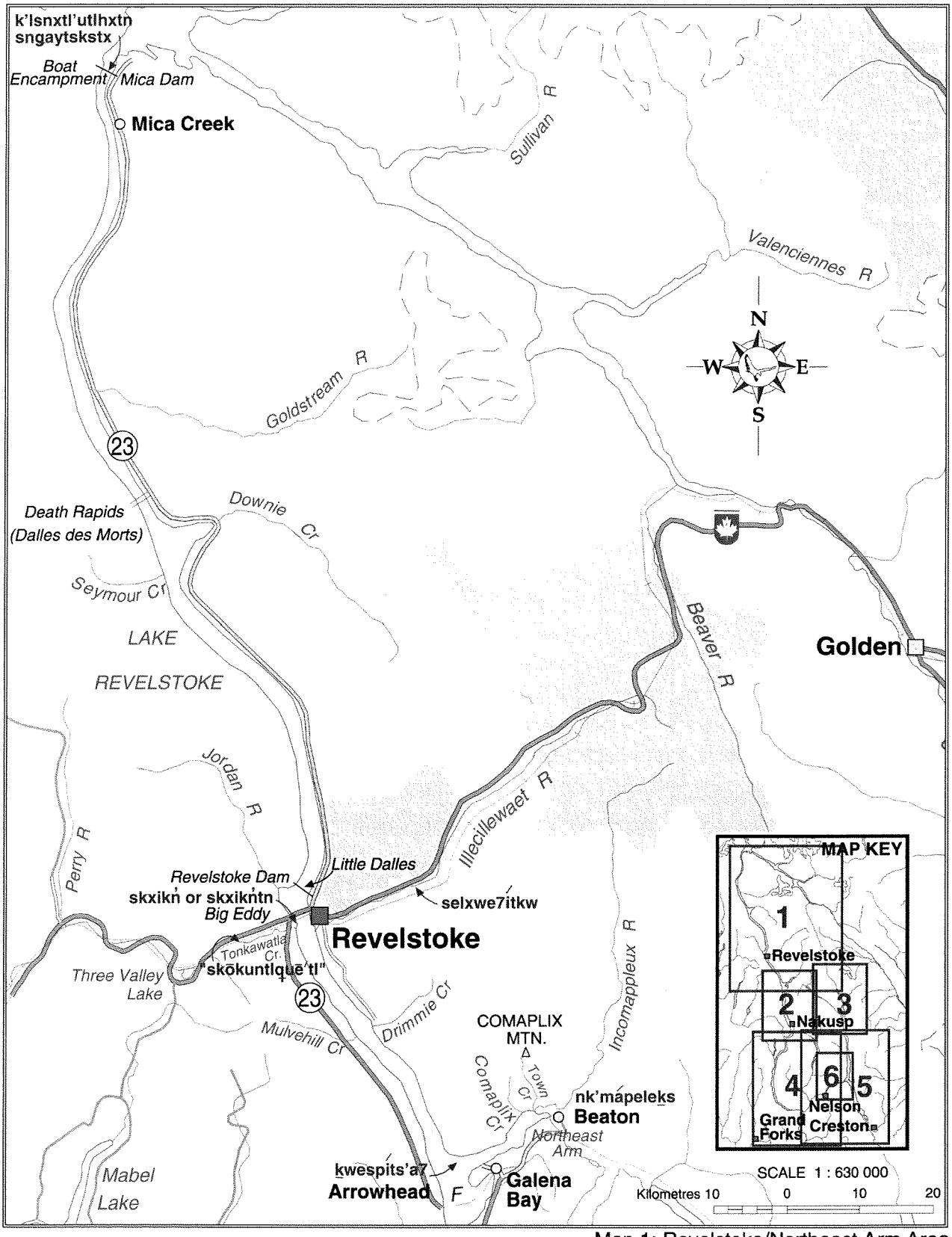
The following discussion begins at Mica Dam, then follows southwards through Revelstoke, the Northeast Arm, Upper Arrow Lake, the Burton area, Lower Arrow Lake, the Brilliant/Castlegar area, and the Trail/Rossland area, ending at the United States border, at Waneta (see Maps 1, 2 and 4).

Big Bend/Boat Encampment/Athabasca Portage

Only Franz Boas (c.1900) has recorded the Okanagan-Colville name for the Big Bend area of the Columbia River, approximately where the Mica Dam is presently located, about 135 Km (85 miles) north from Revelstoke (see Map 1).

Actually, Boas provided two different terms for this area, in different sections of his circa 1900 "Okanagan" fieldnotes.[34] We would transcribe one of the terms that he provided, "*k'ilsɛnqatsɛ̄ā'luqtɛn*," as *k'lsnxtl'utlhxtn* which means 'at the groundhog place.' Boas said this name referred to the "Big Bend." Although no other source has provided this place name, it is interesting to note that early travellers did comment on the many "groundhogs" in this area of the Columbia.

The other term provided by Boas in his circa 1900 fieldnotes is "*snaii'tckstq*" which is clearly the word we transcribe as *sngaytskstx* — the Okanagan-Colville term used to refer to the Lakes people. Beside "*snaii'tckstq*" Boas (c.1900) wrote "Big Bend of Columbia." We can only assume that this reflects Boas's Native consultant indicating that the Lakes or *sngaytskstx* travelled as far north as this area of the Columbia. This is substantiated by the fact that, as we have discussed, early Hudson's Bay Company employees had commented that the "Athabasca Portage" or "Rocky Mountain Portage" (names the H.B.C. gave to the Big Bend/Boat Encampment area) was the northern limit of the Kettle Falls/Lakes Indians (McLeod 1822-1823; Dease 1827; Work 1830).[35]



Map 1: Revelstoke/Northeast Arm Area

Tonkawatla Creek/Big Eddy

There is some confusion concerning place names in the Tonkawatla Creek/Big Eddy area.

Boas (c.1900) provided the place name "*skōkuntlquē´tl*" in his "Okanagan" fieldnotes. He listed "*skōkuntlquē´tl*" between the term "*skhē´kentən*" [*skxikn̓tn*] which he said was the name for a "River east of Eagle Pass," and the name for the Big Bend. This listing sequence, together with Boas's (c.1900) translation of "*skōkuntlquē´tl*" as 'working place (when fish have to work hard to go up rapids),' lead initially to a conclusion that "*skōkuntlquē´tl*" referred to one of the two main rapids in the region — either the Little Dalles, located about 5 Km (3 miles) north from Revelstoke (near where the Revelstoke Dam is located today), or the Dalles des Morts area, about 64 Km (40 miles) north from Revelstoke.

However, we must also consider the fact that, years earlier, Moberly (1866:map) had transcribed the name for Tonkawatla Creek, which enters the west side of the Columbia River across from Revelstoke, as "*skookoncleu.*" As we noted in our September 1985 report (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b:81), Moberly's "*skookoncleu*" seems clearly to be the same term that Boas (c.1900) transcribed as "*skōkuntlquē´tl.*" [36] Thus we conclude it most likely that Boas's "*skōkuntlquē´tl*" referred to Tonkawatla Creek, rather than the Little Dalles just upriver from Revelstoke, or the Dalles des Morts much farther north.

Additional confusion is caused by the term "*tonkawatla*" itself. We noted in our September 1985 report that neither our Lakes-speaking nor our Shuswap-speaking Native consultants recognized the term "*tonkawatla*" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b:81).[37] Moreover, this same creek has also been referred to as "Tumkawatka" or "Tumtum" (Harrison 1961a; Fraser 1965). "Tumkawatka" appears to be another rendition of "*tonkawatla*;" as for "Tumtum," we are not sure if this is merely the local non-Indians's abbreviated form of "Tonkawatla"/"Tumkawatka," or whether this is a reference to the Chinook jargon term *tumtum* which means 'heart;soul;mind.' Concerning *tumtum*, Paul Kane (1974:215) observed in 1847 that Upper Columbia Natives applied the "general name of Tumtum . . .to all falls of water." [38]

In Boas's (c.1900) fieldnotes, the term "*skhē´kən*" [*skxikn̓*] was given as the name of a "small lake below Revelstoke" and a closely-related term "*skhē´kentən*" [*skxikn̓tn*] was identified as a "River east of Eagle Pass." Given that it is unlikely these two very-similar terms would be applied to two different places, it is possible that either of these two names referred to Tonkawatla Creek which enters the west side of the Columbia River across from Revelstoke and is actually, as Boas noted, "east of Eagle Pass." As discussed above, however, it appears more likely that Tonkawatla Creek was known by the name that Moberly (1866:map) had written as "*skookoncleu*" and Boas (c.1900) had transcribed as "*skōkuntlqu´ētl.*"

Confirmation that one of Boas's (c.1900) terms, "*skhē´kentən*" [*skxikn̓tn*], applied to the area around the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek is provided in the work of James Teit. According to Teit (1930b:209), "*skɛx̣i´kɛntɛn*" [*skxikn̓tn*] was the name of a Lakes village located "on the creek opposite the present town of Revelstoke," indicating that this settlement was somewhere in the vicinity of the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek. Because Tonkawatla Creek emptied into the Columbia in the vicinity of the Big Eddy, it is possible that either of the terms given by Boas (c.1900) — "*skhē´kentən*" [*skxikn̓tn*] or "*skhē´kən*" [*skxikn̓*] — was actually the name of the Big Eddy area.

This leads to the conclusion that it is likely Tonkawatla Creek, itself, was known as "*skookoncleu*" ("*skōkuntlqué´tl*"), and the area around the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek, probably including the Big Eddy, was known as *skxikn̓* or *skxikn̓tn* .

Mary Marchand and Julia Quintasket stated that they had heard the Okanagan-Colville terms *skxikn̓* and *skxikn̓tn* and were of the opinion that either of these place names may have been applied to Revelstoke. However, they were not certain of this. On one occasion, Mary Marchand mentioned another Okanagan-Colville term, *nts'litkw* ('trees standing in water'), which she had heard her mother talk about and which MM said was "possibly around Revelstoke." On another occasion MM stated that *nts'litkw* was "somewhere around the Arrow Lakes." [39]

Considerable information has been recorded about Native use and occupancy of the Tonkawatla Creek/Big Eddy area. For example, Teit (1930b:209) wrote the following concerning the Lakes village at "*skxɛi´kɛntɛn*" [*skxikn̓tn*] near the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek:

> This place is said to have been the headquarters of a rather large band, which was reenforced at certain seasons by people from lower down the Columbia. It was noted as a trading, trapping, hunting, berrying, and salmon-fishing center (Teit 1930b:209).[40]

Teit recorded in his fieldnotes that around Revelstoke there were "Lots of people mixed with Shuswap, latter came there & with Lakes people put up lots of berries & salmon." He also noted that the Lakes Indians "had no permanent camps north of Revelstoke" (Teit n.d.). Elsewhere, Teit (1910-1913) wrote that the "old Revelstoke band" was formerly "much mixed with Shuswap." (We assume these "Revelstoke" references are actually to the area across the Columbia — the Tonkawatla Creek mouth area).

The available data provide only a minimal amount of support to Teit's statements about a former Shuswap presence in the vicinity of Revelstoke. Certainly the Indian trails through the Eagle Pass (see the discussion below) and through the Seymour Arm/Pettipiece Pass routes gave the Shuswap people access to this region of the Columbia. Yet we are not aware of ethnohistorical documents that specifically identify Shuswap Indians anywhere between the former head of Upper Arrow Lake and the Big Bend.[41]

Shuswap-speaking elders interviewed in late August-early September 1985 had a limited knowledge of the Shuswap use of the area around Revelstoke and up Tonkawatla Creek (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b:90; Lawhead and Thomas 1985:94-95). The late Joe Williams, a Shuswap elder from Salmon Arm, gave the Shuswap name for Revelstoke as *sts'gi̓lxtn* which he tentatively translated as 'whirlwind,' because of the peculiar way in which the winds blow in this area (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b:90).[42] A different Shuswap name for Revelstoke was provided by the late Francis Thomas, a Shuswap elder from Enderby; this term has been tentatively transcribed as *sts'ek'ḵín* and tentatively translated as 'connected.' [43] Mr. Thomas said that he had camped [presumably in the 1920s] near the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek, and that the actual site where he camped was located on the northwest side of the present-day highway, considerably north of the present-day mouth of Tonkawatla Creek (Lawhead and Thomas 1985:95).

Native people were observed camping at the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek in September 1883, but they were not identified as Shuswap. Sandford

Fleming wrote that he met with a hunting party of "Fort Colville Indians" [Lakes Indians] who had been encamped for about a month at the mouth of the Tonkawatla Creek. One of these Indian people guided Fleming's party westward up the Tonkawatla River as far as Three Valley Lake which is about 24 Km (15 miles) from the Columbia. Fleming wrote:

> We discovered that the Fort Colville Indians encamped near us were well acquainted with the country for some distance back of the Columbia. It had been their hunting ground; accordingly we engaged one of their party, old Baptiste, as a guide, to take us on our way [through Eagle Pass] by the least difficult route . . .The Indian knew the route well as far as Three Valley Lake . . . The path we pass along is the one taken by the Indians for carrying cariboo and game over the mountains. The various wild berries we saw on the route were unusually large . . .There was an abundance of huckleberries and blackberries . . .[at Three Valley Lake] Baptiste tells us that much game abounds, and that from the lake large fish are taken, as we infer, salmon (Fleming 1884:297,299,303).

This information provided by Fleming is significant, in our view, not only because it provides confirmation of a habitation site at the place identified by Teit (1930b:209) as the Lakes village of *skxikn̓tn*, but also because it indicates there was a clear distinction made in this region between what was Lakes territory and what was Shuswap. Clearly Three Valley Lake was recognized as a boundary between the two groups — Fleming noted that from Three Valley Lake and beyond (westwards), the Shuswap Indians were "on their own ground" (Fleming 1884:304).[44] Independently, Joe Williams told us in 1985 that Three Valley Lake was "as far east as the Shuswap used to go when hunting and fishing in former times" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b:89). [45]

Several references exist to Lakes people in the vicinity of the Tonkawatla Creek/Big Eddy area between the mid-1880s and the early 1900s. A pioneer Arrow Lakes resident, Edouard Picard, recalled that a group of Indians had spent the winter at an "old railway construction" in the vicinity of Revelstoke in 1886-1887 (Picard 1926). From Picard's description, it is not clear if the place where these Indian people wintered was at the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek,[46] on the west side of the Columbia, or at Revelstoke on the east side, at the mouth of the Illecillewaet River (but see the discussion that follows). Very likely these people were Lakes Indians, notwithstanding Picard's confused description of their ethnicity as "a mixture of Chinook, and another language American and Kootenay Indians" (Picard 1926). Elsewhere in this same manuscript, Picard wrote that the Indian people he had observed wintering in the vicinity of Revelstoke in 1886-1887 were the same Indians who lived between the Little Dalles, in Washington State, and the international border under Chief "Melteur" [who was a well-known Lakes chief] (Picard 1926).

It was noted in a *Kootenay Star* article of November 1st, 1890 that "two families of Colville [Lakes] Indians, who have been camped on McAlpine Island [adjacent to Revelstoke],[47] have departed in their canoes for down river hunting grounds" (*Kootenay Star* 1890a). Reference was again made to this "Indian encampment on the island opposite the town" on October 14th, 1893. The writer noted that this encampment was now deserted, as the Natives had recently gone

downriver in two or three large canoes (*Kootenay Star* 1893). These Natives were not identified in this article, but given the previous descriptions and their identification as Colville Indians in 1894 and again in 1895 (*Kootenay Mail* 1894a; 1895c), there can be little doubt that they were Lakes people.

Likely it was this same island, the one known locally as "McAlpine Island," that W.J. Fraser of Revelstoke referred to in an interview tape-recorded by the CBC in 1965. Mr. Fraser referred to Tonkawatla Creek as the "Tumkawatka" or "Tumtum" and recalled the following with reference to the 1890s-early 1900s:

> ...around about the second week of September, these redfish [kokanee] used to come up the river, and they'd go in that stream [the Tonkawatla] and they were immediately followed by the salmon, with results that in the early days, the Kootenay Indians used to come up the Columbia, and near the mouth of this Tumtum [the Tonkawatla] was the Indian Island, and they camped on the Indian Island. I can recall them as a youngster, seeing the wigwams down in there (Fraser 1965).

Given the previous descriptions, we conclude these Native people were not "Kootenay" [Ktunaxa] Indians, as Mr. Fraser stated, but Lakes.[48]

There are also references to Lakes people using and occupying regions of the Columbia River both north and south from the Tonkawatla Creek/Big Eddy area. For example, Governor George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, while descending the Columbia with his crew in October of 1824, "passed a Lodge of Indians part of the Kettle Fall tribe" (Simpson 1824-1825). It is not exactly clear where this "lodge" was located but it seems that it was somewhere in the vicinity of the Dalles des Morts. As we have discussed, Simpson in 1824 had identified the "Sinachicks" [*sngaytsksṯx*] as "part of the Kettle Falls tribe" who lived about the "lakes [Arrow Lakes] of the main river [Columbia River]" (Merk 1968:40, 169). H.B.C. employee Samuel Black observed in October 1825 "a lodge of Spokan Inds or Kettle Falls" a short distance upriver from Upper Arrow Lake (Black 1823-1825). Very likely these were Lakes people.

In April of 1827, Edward Ermatinger encountered Indian people along the Columbia somewhere above the Little Dalles (Ermatinger and White 1912:VI:77). Ermatinger did not identify these people, but likely they were Lakes. Paul Kane in October of 1847 "fell in with the Indian chief of the lakes" (Kane 1974:229) somewhere upstream from the Little Dalles. In the winter of 1861-1862, some miners spent the winter along the Columbia about fifteen miles upriver from the Upper Arrow Lake. They reported that the Indians, whom they did not identify, treated them well (Cameron 1862).[49] On November 10th, 1864, George Turner reported to the Colonial Secretary that Indians had left the area of the Columbia between the Dalles des Morts and Boat Encampment two months previous (Turner 1865). Several days later,Turner wrote that "About 2 miles above the Upper Arrow Lake we came upon some Indians encamped, where we obtained some dried salmon and bear's meat" (Turner 1865).[50]

Walter Moberly explored this region in 1865 and 1866. He described an Indian trail which led from the head of Seymour Arm on Shuswap Lake, up the Seymour River to Ratchford Creek, crossed the Monashee Mountains through Pettipiece Pass to Seymour Creek, then led down this creek to

where it meets the Columbia about 4 Km (2.4 miles) downriver from Downie Creek (Moberly 1866:15,map).

Moberly reported in October of 1865 that he camped on an island in the Columbia somewhere above the Little Dalles "with [Chief] Gregoire and Columbia River [Lakes] Indians." These were the same people he had reported camping with in September 1865 on a "small Island about 8 miles above" the Big Eddy (which itself is across from Revelstoke) (Moberly 1866:17,19). Referring to his 1866 explorations, Moberly (1885:53) later noted that at a place not far from the Dalles des Morts, there was a "hut" that had been used by a "Columbia River" [Lakes] Indian who was trapping in that vicinity.

Illecillewaet River/Revelstoke Area

Only Franz Boas (c.1900) recorded an Okanagan-Colville name for the Illecillewaet River. We transcribe Boas's term "*xiusilqui'tk*" as *selxwe7ítkw* (which means 'big water' in the Okanagan-Colville language), although the Lakes Natives we interviewed did not know this as a place name. Likely "Illecillewaet" is an anglicization of *selxwe7ítkw.*[51]

A Kutenai term for Revelstoke has been transcribed as "*ktunuxanmituk miqaqas*" (Anon. c. 1995), and as "*ktunwakanmituk miqaqas*" (Keefer and McCoy 1999:56). However, neither of these sources has provided either a translation of this term, or any specific information about the Kutenai use of Revelstoke.

Only a limited amount of information has been recorded about the Native use of the Illecillewaet area. According to local historian Kate Johnson (1964:182), "pony trails of the Indians" led from Revelstoke "on to the Rogers Pass country" (presumably alongside the Illecillewaet). Mrs. Johnson provided no additional clarification of this statement.

In September of 1865, several Lakes Indians accompanied Walter Moberly to the headwaters of the Illecillewaet River. Moberly did not indicate whether or not he followed an Indian trail up the Illecillewaet, or whether or not these Indian people were guiding him. He did note, however, that these Lakes Indians would not accompany him past the headwaters of the Illecillewaet (Moberly 1866:7).[52]

We have found no additional evidence that the Lakes people regularly went up the Illecillewaet River — this is not to say they did not utilize this area, it is just that we are aware of no records of their having done so, above and beyond the Johnson and Moberly references. Nor are we aware of a Lakes settlement around the mouth of the Illecillewaet, where Revelstoke is now located. As discussed above, the available documentation suggests their settlement was on the opposite side of the Columbia River from Revelstoke, near the mouth of Tonkawatla Creek. While Indian Reserve Commissioner A.W. Vowell in October 1902 commented that Revelstoke was one of the places where the Indian people "now residing at Arrow Lake" had previously lived (Vowell 1902a), we believe (for the reasons discussed above) the area where the Lakes people lived was actually across the river from Revelstoke.

Beaton/Comaplix

While the head end of the Northeast Arm of Upper Arrow Lake, which includes the former settlements of Beaton and Comaplix, was once the location of a Lakes village known in the Okanagan-Colville language as *nk'mápeleḵs* (meaning 'head of lake'), we cannot say with certainty precisely where *nk'mápeleḵs* was located. It is our tentative conclusion however (for reasons discussed below) that the original site known as *nk'mápeleḵs* was in the vicinity of Beaton, at the mouth of Beaton Creek. Only one

of the Lakes people we interviewed, Mary Marchand, knew of *nk'mápeleḵs* as a place name, although she did not know where it was located.

The Native term *nk'mápeleḵs* continues today in its anglicized application to several areas associated with the Northeast Arm. The anglicization "Comaplix" is used to identifty Compalix Creek and the former non-Native townsite at the mouth of this creek, located on the north side of the Northeast Arm (near its eastern end). As well, the anglicization "Comaplix" is used to refer to Comaplix Mountain, situated near the headwaters of Town Creek, which itself is located east from Comaplix Creek. Another anglicization, "Incomappleux," appears in the name of the Incomappleux River (formerly known as the "Fish River") which empties into the eastern end of the Northeast Arm.

According to Teit (1930b:209), the Lakes village of *"nk'ɛma'pɛlɛks"* [*nk'mápeleḵs*], said to mean 'base or bottom end, with reference to the end of the lake' was "called 'Comaplix' by the whites" and was located "at the head of the bight in Upper Arrow Lake, above Arrowhead, near the mouth of Fish River [Incomappleux River]" [the actual distance between the mouth of the Incomappleux River and the former town of Comaplix is about 3.5 miles (5.6 Km)]. Ray (1936b:114,126), some of whose information concerning this place appears to have been elicited independently from Teit, said that *"nk'umà'puluks"* [*nk'mápeleḵs*], meaning 'end of the water,' was located "at the uppermost end of Upper Arrow Lake near the site of the present town Comaplix."[53] Although Ray's map suggests the location of this site was in the vicinity of Comapilix, the map's scale makes this difficult to confirm. Information provided from other sources (Harrison 1961b:42; Johnson 1964:7,169), however, indicates there was a Native campsite at Beaton (formerly known as "Thompson's Landing"),[54] which was on the *south* shore of the eastern end of the Northeast Arm, south from the mouth of the Incomappleux River (Beaton, itself, was located at the mouth of Beaton Creek, formerly known as "Salmon Creek"). Moreover, the distance from the mouth of the Incomappleux River to Beaton is only about .9 miles (1.2 Km), which certainly is, as Teit stated, "near the mouth of Fish River." Furthermore, the fact that James Turnbull, travelling with Lakes Indians through this area in 1865, used the term "*Ill-com-opalux*" [spelled "*Incumappleux*" on the map accompanying this publication] to refer to the valley extending to the *southeast* between Beaton and Trout Lake (Moberly 1866:29-30), rather than the Incumappleux River valley extending to the northeast, provides additional support to *nk'mápeleḵs* having a specific reference to the Beaton area.

It is thus our tentative conclusion that *nk'mápeleḵs* had a general reference to the entire end of the Northeast Arm, but a specific reference to an area at Beaton.

James Teit's Native consultants told him that *nk'mápeleḵs* was said to have had a large population, and that it was "a specially important center for fishing, berrying (especially huckleberries),[55] and root digging" (Teit 1930b:209).

Elmendorf transcribed this place name as *"nk'əma'pələks"* and translated it as 'other end of the water.' He noted that *"nk'əma'pələks"* was located "near Revelstoke" and was the "earliest settlement" of the Lakes people (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:19). When, elsewhere in his notes, Elmendorf (1935-1936:I:1) wrote that the Lakes "originally settled around Revelstoke" and that "over 100 yr. ago the Lakes retreated down from around Revelstoke"(Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:78), we have to assume these additional references to the settlement "around Revelstoke" are also

references to "*nk'əma'pələks*" (*nk'mápeleḵs*). Moreover, Elemendorf's (1925-1936:I:78) reference to his Lakes consultant's statement in 1935 that the time of this "retreat" down from "around Revelstoke" [actually *nk'mápeleḵs*, in the Northeast Arm] was "before Mrs. W's [Wynecoop's] grandmother's time and she would be over 100 if alive today" is consistent with the period of the 1820-1830s identified in ethnohistorical records as the time when the Lakes began their southward movement.

Ray's (1936b:126) Lakes consultant identified *nk'mápeleḵs* as an "important camp" of the Lakes people that was "a popular meeting place and a productive fishing, hunting and berrying center. The camp was most populous in May and June" (Ray 1936b:126).

The game resources of the Northeast Arm were mentioned in connection with a reported incident in the 1890s. A well-known group of Lakes people, the Christian family, who lived at Brilliant at the mouth of the Kootenay River but were known to hunt and trap widely along the Arrow Lakes and the Columbia River, were identified hunting and trapping in the Northeast Arm in the early 1890s. Moreover, the Christian family claimed these rights even after a settler, Evan Johnson, took up residence at the end of the Northeast Arm in 1891 (we have not been able to determine where in the Northeast Arm Mr. Johnson had settled). On April 13th, 1895, the following statement by Evan Johnson was reported:

> A family of Indians named Christien claimed the right of the river for trapping and hunting, and the land I had taken up [in 1891]. I shot a cariboo that swam across the Arm and four Indians came and carried it off. I let them go without objection, but one came back with a piece and was mad because I would not give him a dollar for it. Several other tricks they did on the land but nothing very serious (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

According to local historian Kate Johnson, the fisheries in this general area were a source of friction between Kutenai Indians and "other native peoples from the Okanagan country:"

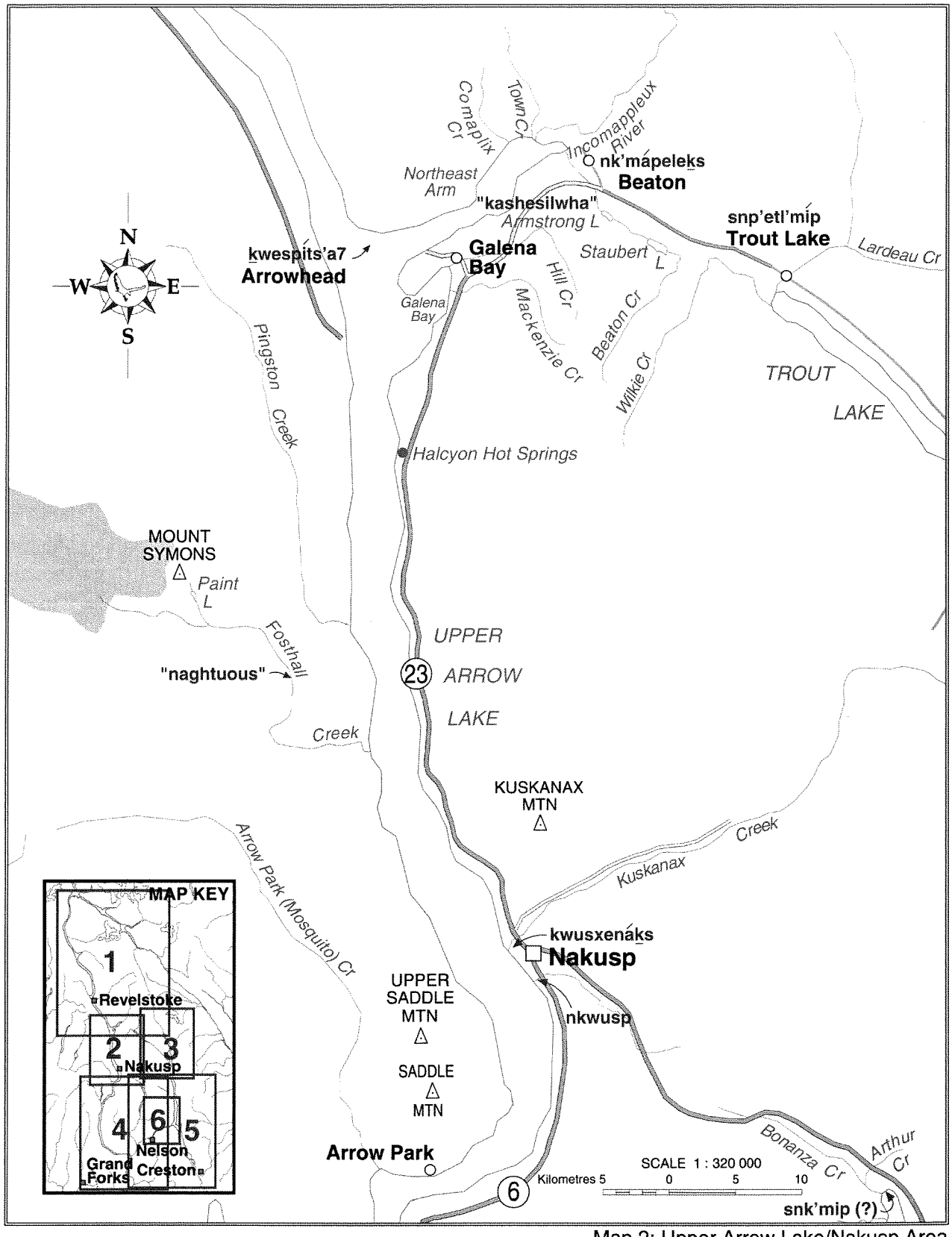
> The Kootenays...up to a certain point prior to the advent of fur traders...came up the Arrow Lakes to fish ...and are known to have camped at what is now Beaton...The country around Beaton provided an abundant food supply and they [the Kutenai] were loth to leave it when challenged by other native peoples from the Okanagan country, hence the frequent wars of those times bordering the early nineteenth century (Johnson 1964:7,169).

Johnson did not indicate the source of this information. She added that after one of these battles "the Colvilles of which the Okinakens were a branch, retained the fishing rights of the Arrow Lakes" (Johnson 1964:7). As we have noted, however, Johnson did not have a clear understanding of just who the Indian people in the Arrow Lakes region were.

Archaeologist Peter Harrison (1961b:42) referred to "local traditions" that "a fishing camp was established near the mouth of the Incomaplix River at the present townsite of Beaton" but found no archaeological evidence of this.

Arrowhead

Arrowhead was located at the uppermost end of Upper Arrow Lake, immediately west of the place where the Columbia flowed into the lake, on



Map 2: Upper Arrow Lake/Nakusp Area

the north side of the entrance to the Northeast Arm (see Map 2). The site was flooded during dam construction, and is now under the expanded Upper Arrow Lake, which extends all the way to Revelstoke.

James Teit (1930b:209) transcribed the Native name of this place as "*kospi'tsa*" [*kwespíts'a7*] and translated it as 'buffalo robe.' Ray (1936b:127) provided this same transcription and translation, and made reference to Teit, which suggests that Ray did not obtain the term independently. Of the Lakes people we interviewed, only Mary Marchand knew *kwespíts'a7* (an Okanagan-Colville term which she also translated as 'buffalo robe') as a place name, although she did not know where the place called *kwespíts'a7* was located. The name itself is something of a mystery — buffalo are not known to have ever been in this area (see also the discussion that follows).

According to Teit (1930b:209), *kwespíts'a7* was a Lakes village located "where the town of Arrowhead now is" and was a salmon-fishing place, and a "noted center for digging roots of *Lilium columbianum*." This latter term refers to the tiger lily (also known as the Columbia lily), *stextsín,* whose bulbs were a popular food for all the Okanagan-Colville people (Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:46-48). The Lakes people dug these bulbs in July and August (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:26). Arrowhead may have been a huckleberry-gathering area as well — Mary Marchand indicated that her grandmother used to go every summer to the "head of Upper Arrow Lake" to gather huckleberries.

Ethnohistoric sources record the presence of a village which appears to have been at or near Arrowhead. The botanist David Douglas in 1827 described "three Indian lodges" located "at the end of the [Upper Arrow] lake, at the foot of a high and steep hill" (Wilks 1959:251). Douglas' travelling companion, Edward Ermatinger, referred to aboriginal people encamped at the point where Upper Arrow Lake ended and the Columbia River began (Ermatinger and White 1912:VI:77).[56]

The Hudson's Bay Company in 1838 built a post known as "Mckay's House" or "Fort of the Lakes," a satellite of Fort Colvile, somewhere in the vicinity of Arrowhead. Correspondence involving the initial construction of the post does not indicate its exact location. John Tod stated that the post was in the process of being constructed in October 1838, and that it was "at the upper Lake" (Tod 1839). In October 1838, a Jesuit priest, Father Modeste Demers, baptized a number of Lakes Indian children at this "Fort of the Lakes" (Warner and Munnick 1972:13-14; Bagley 1932:25-26). Historian and archaeologist David Chance, who made a very detailed examination of the Hudson's Bay Company records relating to the trading posts in this region, concluded that this fort was near Arrowhead (Chance 1973:2).

In May 1846, Father P.J. De Smet travelled down the Columbia and came upon twenty familes of Lakes Indian people "belonging to the station of St. Peter" camped on the borders of Upper Arrow Lake. (Presumably they were camped in the vicinity of the "Fort of the Lakes" near Arrowhead). Among them was their chief, Greogory, who, De Smet noted, had been baptised in 1838 by Father Blanchet. Concerning these people camped here, De Smet wrote that "the greater part of their tribe had been converted during the past year, at Kettle Falls," but added that "these families were absent at that time." De Smet spent several days here with these people, providing religious instruction and baptising them (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:II:548-549). There is no doubt that these were Lakes people; De Smet wrote:

> The tribe of these Lake Indians are a part of the Kettle Fall nation. They are very poor and subsist principally on fish and wild roots. As soon as we shall have more means at our disposal, we will supply them with implements of husbandry and with various seeds and roots, which I have no doubt with thrive well in their country; this will be a great assistance to these destitute people (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:II:548-549).

Twentieth century sources based on information from local non-Natives also refer to the old camping grounds at Arrowhead. In the *Arrow Lakes News* of January 31st 1930, an article by an unidentified author referred to a "splendid [Indian] camping site at Arrowhead" which was utilized during the summer by "many tribes." The article also stated an opinion that the English name of Arrowhead came from the fact that a battle had taken place at this site, and that many arrowheads were later found here. However, archaeologist Peter Harrison, in noting a camp on the west shore of the Columbia at its mouth, across from and slightly north of Arrowhead, recorded a more prosaic explanation of the site's English name, which was simply that early homesteaders found arrowheads at this particular place, with no reference to a battle (Harrison 1961a).

Harrison (1961a; 1961b:42) also recorded from local residents that a camp site and sweat house site were located on the northern end of an island in the mouth of the Columbia, immediately west from Arrowhead, which was known locally as "Cottonwood Island." The local residents told Harrison that the sweat houses were in use here within their memory, which seems to have extended back to around 1900. Harrison reported elsewhere that a Reverend Job of Invermere was said to have been told by a well-known Arrow Lakes Indian, Louis Joseph, that sweat houses were used on this island (Harrison 1961a).

Local historian Kate Johnson recorded that the old campsite at Arrowhead was still prominent at the beginning of the century, and added that a burial ground there "was a prominent landmark until the coming of the sawmills" (Johnson 1964:169). She also stated that "as recently as 1908 there were indications of a fairly large campsite on the flat higher level above the sandy shore" and that at that time "there were also old poles lying around" (Johnson 1964:8). Johnson reported that "the condition of native remains exhumed at their old burial ground there [at Arrowhead] in 1907 would indicate that they had used the place for a long time" (Johnson 1964:7), yet she was also of the opinion that "prior to the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company there were no camps of Indians at what is now Arrowhead" (Johnson 1964:7).[57]

Another source confirms this report of a graveyard. Captain John Nelson of Galena Bay, just south of Arrowhead, told Peter Harrison in July of 1961 that he had seen "an Indian graveyard" in Arrowhead in 1904 and that it contained seven crosses. Nelson stated this graveyard was here until 1906 and described the graves in some detail. He said they were "covered with bearskin with copper pots on top, containing small items (beads, etc.)" (Harrison 1961a).

In 1970, pioneer resident C.J.C. Slade, while describing the culturally-modified trees he had seen along both the Arrow Lakes near the various Indian campsites, recalled one such tree "at Arrowhead, just above the ranger station." He said that the tree had been "peeled for canoe patching material." By using the process of dendochronology, described by Slade as "counting the annual rings back to the dead wood

of the original trunk" he was able to estimate the date at which it was peeled as 1869 (Slade 1970).

Galena Bay

Galena Bay is situated on the east side of Upper Arrow Lake, just south from Arrowhead and at the entrance to the Northeast Arm of the lake. While no indigenous name has been recorded for Galena Bay, information concerning its traditional use has been documented. These data suggest that Galena Bay was a very old site, and was of considerable importance to the *sngaytskstx* people.

Eyewitness accounts of Native use of the Galena Bay area in the early 1900s have been recorded. Captain John Nelson of Galena Bay told archaeologist Peter Harrison in 1961 about two sites here. One was on Nelson's property at the mouth of Mackenzie Creek, and was a "berry-picking camp, occupied in 1904" as observed by Mr. Nelson, who added that the berries indigenous to the site were Saskatoons and Oregon grape.[58] Nelson recalled seeing circular tipis here. Another local source identified this Mackenzie Creek site — an unidentified author referred to it as the "native people's ancient camping ground" in an April 24th, 1952 article in the *Arrow Lakes News.*

The second site recalled by Captain Nelson was at the mouth of Hill Creek which is about 1.5 miles (approximately 2.5 Km) north from the mouth of Mackenzie Creek. Nelson identified this as a fishing camp used by Indian people when they came to catch kokanee running up Hill Creek. The site was recorded as a "camping, fishing & hunting ground" by Harrison (1961a; 1961b:41). Local historian Kate Johnson also identified the mouth of Hill Creek as a regular seasonal campground. She stated that the Natives:

> came with their families in several canoes arriving about the middle of August and stayed until the middle of October. They caught kokanee or red fish, also trout and larger fish, and did some hunting. They smoked the fish in cedar bark huts and carried them away to their winter quarters. They also dried and picked saskatoon berries taken from the shore areas (Johnson 1964:182).

As well, Johnson (1964:169,171) reported that "dugout canoes" were made at Galena Bay and that one of them had been found in the bay "about forty years ago [circa 1911] half buried in silt and clay...and was evidently of great age."

The mouth of Hill Creek was the site of a well-known local incident in May 1894 concerning the shooting by a whiteman of an Indian man named "Cultus Jim" which reportedly ended the Native seasonal use of this site. Johnson's account of this incident was as follows:

> ...they [the Indians] came as usual, but a settler named Sam Hill had built a shack on their camping ground. . .The Chief, Cultus Jim, claimed that he had a prior right to ownership. . .[Hill's] rifle was up in a flash and he shot the Chief through the heart. The rest of the Indians ran for their canoes and sailed south, never to return (Johnson 1964:182).

Johnson's (1964:171) summary of the event is similar to Hill's own, more detailed testimony before the Coroner's inquest.[59] The one exception is that the original newspaper account of Hill's story explicitly identified Cultus Jim and his band as "Colville" [i.e Lakes] Indians, and not the "Kitanaqa [Kutenai] and Okinaken" identified by Johnson (1964:171) as the Indians who regularly came to Galena Bay. Rancher Thomas Reid stated

The tribe of these Lake Indians are a part of the Kettle Fall nation. They ah, very poor and subsist principally e fish and wild roots. As soon as shall have more means at our disposal, we will supply the implements of husbandr various seeds and roo 82). no doubt with thriv country; this will 2,171) reported that to these destitu Galena Bay and and Richard in the bay "about

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Area C: Lower Columbia / Arrow Lakes

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Halcyon Hot Springs

Halcyon Hot Springs is located on the east side of Upper Arrow Lake, about 10 miles [16 Km] south from Galena Bay. No Native name has been recorded for this site.[61]

In 1926 Edouard Picard, an old settler who had come to this area in the 1880s, stated that "Colville" [Lakes] Indians used to come here for the medicinal value of the springs, and that they camped and fished for months at a time while enjoying the springs. Picard's story also referred to the site having been used by the Lakes before his own time, and maintained that they had fought a war with the Kutenai for possession of these springs (Picard 1926). In a version of this account told by Kate Johnson, it was noted that:

> Indians from the State of Washington arrived by scores in canoes, pitched their tents, dug deep excavations near the hot springs where the crippled members of the tribe sojourned for

that he had known Cultus Jim for nine years, that he had employed him for about eight months, and identified him as "an American Indian, one of the Colville Tribe" (*Kootenay Mail* 1894a). Moreover, "Cultus Jim" has been identified elsewhere by Edouard Picard (1926) as one of the party of Lakes Indians who wintered in the vicinity of Revelstoke in 1886-1887.

Apparently "Cultus Jim" claimed that the area around Hill Creek was his property. Hill testified at the coroner's inquest that Cultus Jim claimed that "[Evan] Johnson had stolen his land at the head of the [Northeast] Arm and I was trying to steal this [land]" (*Kootenay Mail* 1894a). This initial newspaper account also reported claims that the Columbia and its tributaries had been the "especial preserves" of the "Colvilles" [Lakes] for generations past:

> The Columbia River and its tributaries have for generations past been the hunting grounds of a certain tribe of Indians now known as the "Colville Indians." Colville is in the domain of Uncle Sam, and these Indians have no right to cross the boundary and hunt in British Columbia. But in view of the fact that their forefathers hunted here and looked upon both shores of the Columbia as their own especial preserves, great laxity has always been allowed them, and they had hunted for two hundred miles up the river from their own reservation at Colville. The camp of this tribe was right here in Revelstoke last summer and they killed cariboo and smaller game all through the close season, which white men are not permitted to do (*Kootenay Mail* 1894a).[60]

Cultus Jim's wife mentioned that Jim had also trapped in the area, as she stated in her testimony that Jim had told Hill that "I guess you had better get away for two weeks until I quit setting steel traps" (*Kootenay Mail* 1894c).

Johnson's statement that the Native people never came back to Galena Bay after the shooting is most likely rhetorical. Certainly the Lakes are known to have kept coming to the same general area, even after the shooting. For example, a newspaper article of September 1895 reported their continued presence around Revelstoke (*Kootenay Mail* 1895c). More specifically, Harrison recorded Captain Nelson's statement that he had seen Native people camping at the mouth of Mackenzie Creek while picking berries in 1904. Harrison also noted that the Indian man (i.e. Cultus Jim) who was murdered by a White was buried near the mouth of Hill Creek (Harrison 1961a; 196lb).

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> Indians from the State of Washington arrived by scores in canoes, pitched their tents, dug deep excavations near the hot springs where the crippled members of the tribe sojourned for

> months, while others in active health caught salmon. For possession of the springs the Kootenay and Colville tribes engaged in a long and bloody war. . .Robert Sanderson [staked the springs in 1889 and] bargained with the Indians for their rights (Johnson 1964:173).

Fosthall Creek

Fosthall Creek[62] flows into the western side of Upper Arrow Lake south of Pingston Creek. Walter Moberly (1866:map) gave the name of Fosthall Creek as "*naghtuous*" and James Bissett (1868) gave it as "*nauchteaux*" which clearly are attempts to transcribe the same indigenous name. We noted in 1985 that we did not know what Native term Moberly and Bissett were attempting to transcribe (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:91), but having considered this further, we now believe it was likely an Okanagan-Colville term derived from *n7axwt* meaning 'downstream; go downstream' (Bouchard, Pierre and Louis 1975; Mattina 1987:129).

Ethnohistoric sources indicate that Fosthall Creek was an aboriginal route between Shuswap/ Okanagan country and the Arrow Lakes. Moberly's 1866 map indicates an "Indian Pass" between the mouth of Fosthall Creek and what appears to be Mabel Lake — the map actually shows this "Indian Pass" connecting with the Shuswap River south of Mabel Lake (Moberly 1866:map). James Bissett of the Hudson's Bay Company described the same trail in August 1868:

> ...passed Nauchteaux river, from this river or creek there is an Indian trail to the Lake of Headwaters of Shuswap river; they travel it two days, but if open timber they say one day would suffice; it passes through a low valley all the way (Bissett 1868).

It is difficult to know whether this trail connected with Sugar Lake or with Mabel Lake, further west, or with both.

This *may* be the same trail, or part of the same trail system, that Magistrate W.G.Cox identified in the early 1860s. In correspondence of September/October 1861, Cox wrote that a Lakes Indian man he met on the Arrow Lakes informed him "a good foot trail exists between the Upper [Arrow] Lake and Lake Schuswap — a man heavily packed can make the distance in three days on foot" (Cox 1861).[63] In July of 1862, Cox personally explored an Indian trail from the head of Okanagan Lake which may have been part of this same trail system. East of the "lower crossing of the Shouswap River" (which seems to have been in the vicinity of Cherryville), south from Sugar Lake, it appears from Cox's letter and accompanying map that one trail went over to Fosthall Creek. Likely this was the same trail later identified by Moberly and Bissett, and possibly was the trail recently described by Clark Marshall (1999b:pers. comm.) as connecting through to Fosthall Creek by way of Peters Lake. The other trail indicated by Cox seems to have continued along what is now the Highway 6 route, following a more southerly route down Inonoaklin Creek (Cox 1862) (see also the discussions of Arrow Park Creek and Oatscott that follow). Unfortunately, since Cox's party did not have sufficient provisions to go all the way to the Arrow Lakes, and lacked a compass, his description of the route(s), particularly in the more easterly areas, is very hard to follow. Cox noted that his Native guides (whom he did not identify) were "the only Indians acquainted with that portion of the road [trail] in question which extends from the lower crossing of the Shouswap River...to the Columbia River and it's three years since they travelled by it" (Cox 1862).

Pioneer resident Ed Picard reported that in the

1880s, Native people took Captain Pingston up the creek which was later named Pingston Creek to the place where they obtained their "warpaint," located "right at the foot of the Big Lodge [Ledge] Mountains" [Mount Symons] (Picard 1926:3). ("Warpaint" was a reference to red ochre which was traditionally used by many aboriginal people as a paint.) Undoubtedly this was the same place identified by Johnson (1964:181) as Paint Lake (north from the upper portion of Fosthall Creek)[64] where Indian people were said to have come from "many hundreds of miles along the lakes" to get "clay." Similar information was provided independently by Milton Parent (1999:pers.comm.) of Nakusp who noted that Walter Nelson of Galena Bay told him Indian people (whose ethnicity he did not specify) used to go to Paint Lake a long time ago to get Indian ochre paint.

Kuskanax Creek

Kuskanax Creek enters the east side of Upper Arrow Lake at the northern outskirts of the town of Nakusp. "Kuskanax" is an anglicization of the Okanagan-Colville term *kwusxenáḵs* which means 'long point; point of land sticking out.'

Several sources have transcribed this Native term, beginning in the 1860s: Moberly (1866:map) wrote it as "*kushenox*"; Dawson (1890:11b) wrote *"koos-ka-nax"* and provided the translation 'long point,' indicating that it describes the "delta-flat which has been formed by the stream;" Bissett (1868) wrote *"koshkenox";* Teit (1930b:209) provided the transcription "*ku´sx̣ɛna´ks*"; and Ray (1936b:127), "*ku´sx̣əna´ks*" (it seems that Ray did not re-elicit this term independently; he cites Teit, and appears merely to have retranscribed Teit's rendition of this place name). Of the Lakes people we interviewed, only Mary Marchand knew this place name — she pronounced it as *kwusxenáḵs* but did not know which place this term referred to.

Teit (1930b:209) included *kwusxenáḵs* in his list of "old villages and main camps" of the Lakes Indians, but provided no additional information. Nor did Ray (1936b:127) describe any uses the Lakes people may have made of this place. Although Bissett (1868) did not record whether or not Natives were present in August 1868 when he stopped at the mouth of this creek to eat breakfast, several non-Natives in more recent times have recalled Indian people living in mat lodges on Kuskanax Point. For example, Bert Herridge wrote in a March 26th, 1970 letter that he "went to school in Nakusp with several of the Lakes Indian children who lived in wigwams on the Kuskanax Point" (Herridge 1970). This would have been between approximately 1910 and 1915. Peter Harrison also recorded a reference to these mat lodges by Mrs. Leary of Nakusp. She said in 1961 that "Indians camped at Nakusp, moved to the mouth of the Kuskinox Creek when white man came in" (Harrison 1961a). The time period to which she was referring was not identified, although non-Natives settled in this area in the late 1880s.

An illustrated history of Nakusp published by the Arrow Lakes Historical Society in 1992 made reference to the arrival of Native canoes at Nakusp:

> ...bearing large groups of Indians. They camped at the point where they fished, hunted and sold a good portion of the bounty to the local hotels, much to the chagrin of the local butcher who suffered considerably from this action (Arrow Lakes Historical Society 1992:19).

Likely "the point" referred to here is the same "point" that Milton Parent recently referred to. Mr. Parent, who was born at Nakusp in 1934,

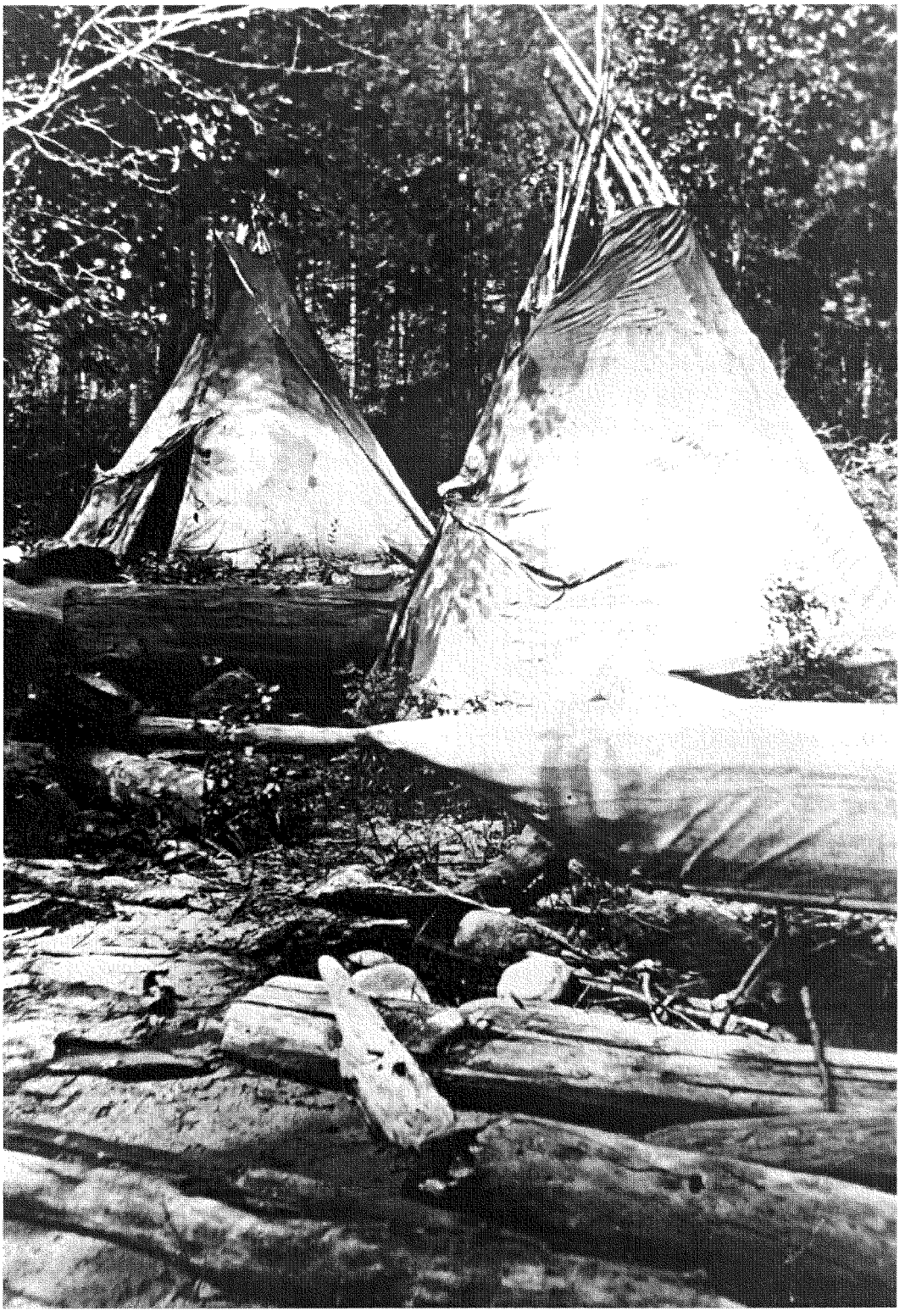


Figure 15. Lakes Indian encampment at Nakusp Point, 1907. Page 10, In, Faces of the Past, Centennial Series, Vol. 1. Published by the Arrow Lakes Historical Society, Nakusp, B.C., 1989.

stated he was told by the Jordan family, who came to Nakusp prior to 1900, that Indian people used to camp around "The Point" where Kuskanax Creek enters Upper Arrow Lake. Milton Parent believed this to be prior to 1918 (Parent 1999: pers.comm.) (see Figure 15).

About 5 miles (8 Km) north of Nakusp, at the place called Shoreholme, is the Herridge property. Although Peter Harrison reported in 1961 that pithouse depressions existed at this site (Harrison 1961b), we are not aware of any ethnographic or ethnohistoric references to Indian utilization of this area.

Nakusp

"Nakusp," the name of the town located on the east side of Upper Arrow Lake, is an anglicization of the Okanagan-Colville term *nkwusp*.

The earliest transcription of this place name that we know about was provided by Dawson (1890:11b) who wrote it as *"na-kusp."* Teit (1930b:209) wrote *"neqo'sp,"* provided the translation 'having buffalo,' and noted "there is no tradition of buffaloes occurring here." The fact that Ray (1936b:127) provided the same transcription and translation as Teit, while citing Teit, suggests that he did not re-elicit the term independently. Johnson (1964:9) recorded the term as *"neeqo'sp"* and translated it as 'safe' (see the discussion below).

Mary Marchand pointed out however that the Okanagan-Colville term meaning 'having buffalo' is *nkwisp* whereas this place name is definitely pronounced *nkwusp*. According to Mrs. Marchand, *nkwusp* is "a real *sngaytskstx* word" and refers to the fact that "something in the lake comes together." We commented in 1985 that in our view, what Mary Marchand meant by this was that before the level of Upper Arrow Lake was raised by dam construction, it was here at Nakusp that the lake began to "come together," i.e. began to narrow down again to a river. Inquiries with local residents confirmed this (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:92). A similar explanation had been provided by an Indian man who was an "old timer," according to an article in the *Arrow Lakes News* of January 31st, 1930. This article indicated that when this elderly Native man was asked the meaning of this word, he responded by taking out his tobacco bag, opening its mouth and then drawing the strings tight. The article's author interpreted the man as "signifying a safe place, a quiet shelter, secret site, a quiet bay, or words to that effect" (Barron 1930). But as we noted in 1985, given Mary Marchand's explanation of *nkwusp*, it appears more likely that this Native man was demonstrating how the lake 'came together,' like his tobacco bag when the strings were drawn (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:92). A variant of the story was recorded from Frederick W. Jordan, a pioneer Nakusp merchant who often repeated what "Chief Louie" (undoubtedly Louis Joseph) told him about the origin of the name. Jordan explained this as follows, as recorded by Johnson:

> Indians come down lake in canoes, storm very bad, canoes nearly lost at Kuskanax Creek, but on entering the big bay at the point (at this point Chief Louie pulled the string of the tobacco bag tight), *Neeqo'sp* — "safe" (Johnson 1964:9).

George Dawson stated that *"na-kusp"* was the name of a stream, so from this we can assume that the term *nkwusp* applied both to the bay at the mouth of the creek, the general area of Nakusp Creek, and to the creek, itself. Dawson also remarked that this stream "comes from a low and rather wide valley which is reported to be used by the Indians as a pass to Slocan Lake" (Dawson

1890:11b). Clearly Dawson was referring to the route that is followed today by Highway 6, up Nakusp Creek to Summit Lake and then alongside Bonanza Creek to the northwest end of Slocan Lake.

Teit (1930b:209) recorded that Nakusp was well known as a "fishing place for salmon and lake trout." Similar information was reported by Alexander Ross in April 1825. Ross met a Lakes man who was, apparently, camped at that time with his people in the vicinity of Nakusp, "hunting wild animals and catching fish" (Ross 1855:II:171-172).

Around 1930, the archaeologist Harlan Smith recorded that Kutenai Indians were using Nakusp (H.Smith c.1930). The source of Smith's information is not indicated in his notes.

Long-time residents of the area in the early 1960s identified Nakusp as an important Native traditional site, recalling that a sweat bath site and graveyard were still visible in the early 20th century. Peter Harrison indicated that several local residents told him that "a burial ground had existed under the present location of the Beau Vista Motel in Nakusp." Bert Herridge indicated that around 1910-1915 he had seen an aboriginal "sweat bath site" at the mouth of Nakusp Creek. This was verified by Mr. H.L. Miller of Nakusp, who pointed out this sweat house site was actually on the north bank of the mouth of Nakusp Creek. Mrs. Leary of Nakusp stated that "Indians camped at Nakusp" (Harrison 1961b). Archaeological evidence of an indigenous use of the Nakusp area was also observed. In 1965, William Mosely of Nakusp indicated that "up to a few years ago" it used to be possible to "pick up Indian arrowheads at any time" in the vicinity of the "recreation ground" at Nakusp (Mosely 1965).

Teit (1930b:209) provided another place name, "*tci'ukɛn*," which he said was "a little below Nakusp." Though Ray (1936b:127) re-transcribed this term as "*tci'ukɛn*," he credited Teit as the source and appears not to have re-elicited the term, himself. We do not know what term Teit was attempting to transcribe when he wrote "*tci'ukɛn*," but we do recognize in this word the suffix *kn* ("*-kɛn*") which means 'head; top' in the Okanagan-Colville language.

According to Teit (1930b:209), "*tci'ukɛn*" was "a center for hunting." He added that "some fine caribou grounds were near this place."

Arrow Park (Mosquito) Creek

North from Belleview, in the vicinity of the mouth of Arrow Park Creek [also known as Mosquito Creek] (see Figure 16), Walter Moberly (1869:map) indicated two "Indian Passes" reaching the Columbia. Both of these trails appeared to originate from the vicinity of Cherryville, where they diverged from the main trail, with one reaching a point not far up from the mouth of Arrow Park Creek by a more northerly route, and the other reaching this same point by a more southerly one.

Frank Joseph had a trapline along Arrow Park Creek in 1931, but a year before he died, the Department of Indian Affairs had suggested that "Indian Capilo" move here from the Kootenays to assist Mr. Joseph's operation of this trapline (Ditchburn 1931; McCormack 1958), which was reputed to be the "best Indian line in this Agency" (Ryckman 1932a). Although local settlers Lance Porter (McCormack 1958:14) and Clark Marshall (1982:8) referred to this trapline as a "treaty trapline," no treaty was signed with the aboriginal people of this area — it is more likely that use of the term "treaty" in this context was with reference to the regulations that came into effect in the mid-1920s when traplines were required to be registered with the Provincial Government. Clark Marshall (1982:8) recalled the "Capello"

family living at Burton, in a cabin on Caribou Creek, while using this Mosquito Creek trapline,[65] but noted that they left in the mid to late 1930s to return to the East Kootenays. In 1948, this Mosquito Creek trapline was said to have been transferred from Annie (Klome) Joseph [the widow of Louie Joseph, who was Frank Joseph's brother] to Lazarus Louis of Lower Kootenay (Dunn 1948).

Belleview

Belleview was formerly located on the west side of the Columbia River, in between the two Arrow Lakes (see Map 4). As Clark Marshall (1999b:pers.comm.) has explained, Belleview was actually at the top end of a narrows in the Columbia River between the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, and the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake. Mr. Marshall added that Belleview was "about three-quarters of a mile" north from the old townsite of Burton (and on the opposite side of the Columbia).

James Teit (1930b:209) stated that this place, which he transcribed as "*sneχai'tskEtsEm*" (but provided no translation), was "near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, opposite Burton City." He identified "*sneχai'tskEtsEm*" as "a great berrying center, especially for huckleberries." As noted in 1985 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:93), we do not recognize the term "*sneχai'tskEtsEm.*"

Ray's (1936b:127) transcription, "*sneχai'tsətsəm,*" differs only from Teit's (which

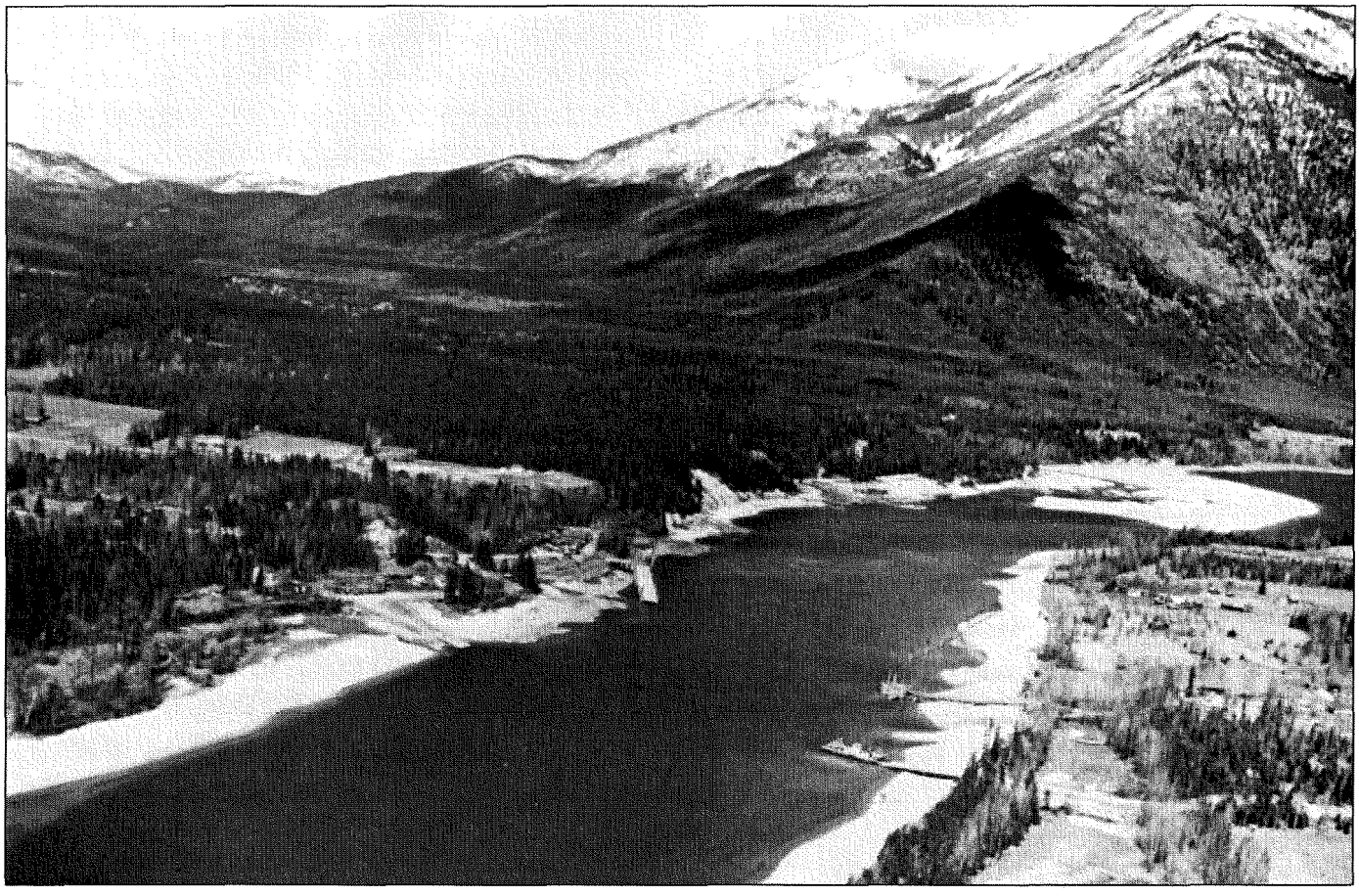
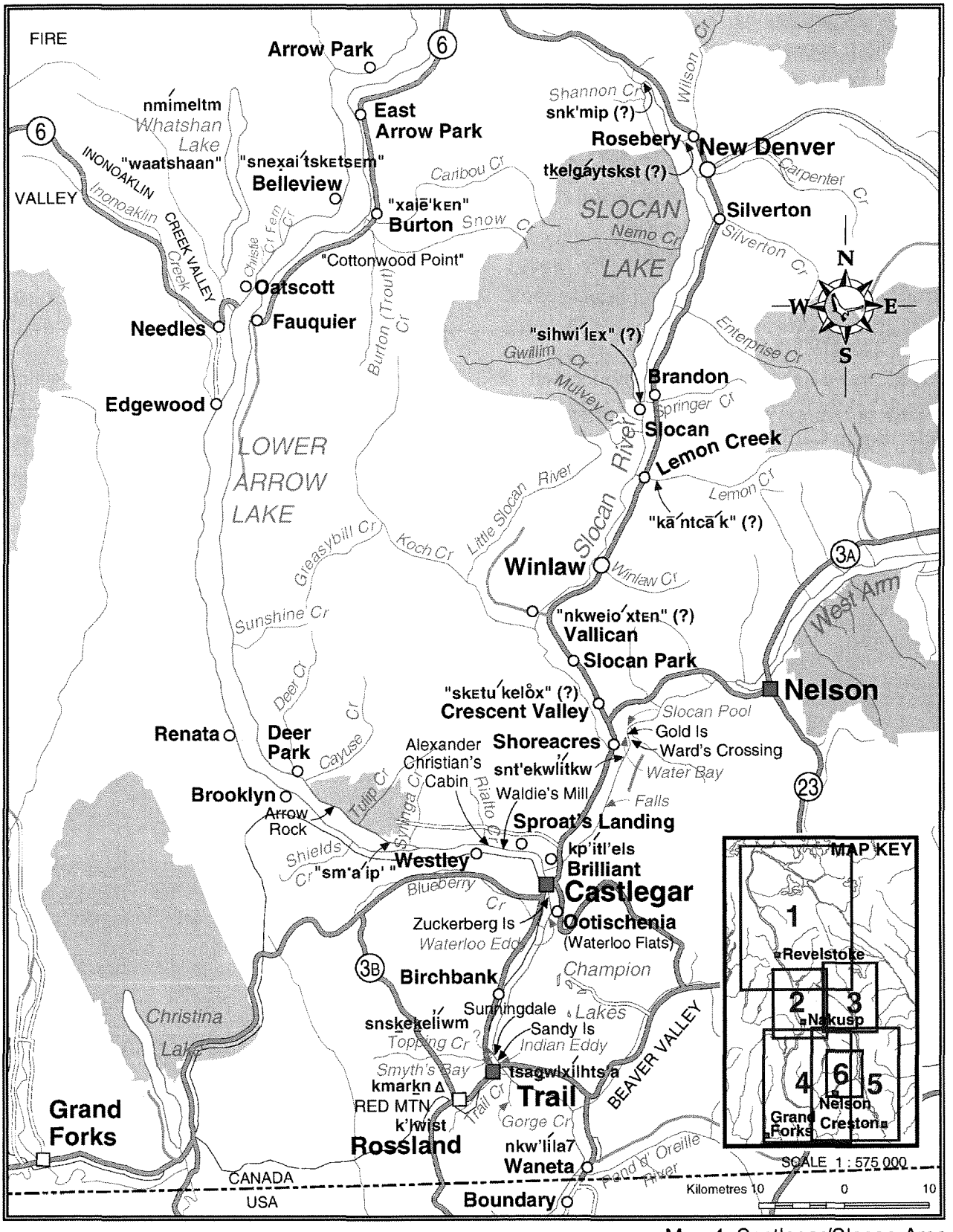


Figure 16. Arrow Park (Vancouver Archives photo). Page 43, In, Faces of the Past: Centennial Series, Vol. 1. Published by the Arrow Lakes Historical Society, Nakusp, B.C., 1989.



Map 4: Castlegar/Slocan Area

Ray credits) by not having "k" following "ts." Nevertheless it appears that Ray only retranscribed Teit's term. While Ray's description of this place as "near the upper end of Lower Arrow lake" is actually more correct than Teit's description of it being "near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake," still we would not say that this necessarily indicates that Ray elicited independent information from Teit concerning this site.

Burton

James Teit (1930b:209) recorded that "*χaiē'kɛn*" was a Lakes village or camp located "at a creek below Burton City." Very likely he was referring to Caribou Creek, which today enters the upper east side of the Columbia River (Lower Arrow Lake) at the south end of Burton, at a place formerly known locally as "Cottonwood Point" (see Figure 17). Today Snow Creek and Burton Creek (also called Trout Creek) join together with Caribou Creek on the east side of the bridge at Burton, but maps from the early 1900s show these three creeks all coming together further to the west, before emptying into the Columbia River as one creek — Caribou Creek.

According to Teit (1930b:209), "*χaiē'kɛn*" was "a center for the catching of land-locked salmon or little red fish," thus clearly identifying a kokanee fishery here. Though Ray (1936b:127) re-transcribed this term as "*χaie'kən*," he credited Teit as the source and appears not to have re-elicited the term, himself. We were unable to re-elicit this term, ourselves, with the Lakes people we interviewed. While we do not know what term Teit was attempting to transcribe when he wrote "*χaiē'kɛn*," we do recognize in this word the suffix *-kn* ("*-kɛn*") which means 'head; top' in the Okanagan-Colville language.

The fur trader Alexander Ross recorded on an 1821 map that the principal Lakes Indian settlement was in the vicinity of what is now Burton (see Figure 13). Ross' map identifies the area broadly about the Arrow Lakes as being the territory of the "*Sin natch eggs*" and, in smaller print, delineates "*Sin-natch-eggs* Nation" (together with 3 tiny squares indicating dwellings) immediately below what seems clearly to be Caribou Creek (Ross 1821). "*Sin- natch-eggs*" is Ross' transcription of the Okanagan-Colville term *sngaytskstx*, the Lakes people's term for themselves.

While we are not aware of additional fur trade era references to Indian people in the Burton area, further references continued in 1884, at which time a miner reported that he had prospected Caribou Creek after an Indian named "Edward" had informed him that this creek contained gold (Arrow Lakes Historical Society 1992:58). Very likely this was the same "Edward" who, in the early 1880s, was elected to be one of the Lakes "military chiefs" by the newly-elected Lakes Head Chief, "Joseph Lcotolegu" (Caruana 1882).

Several sources have referred to Indian people in the Burton area in the early 1900s. For example, Peter Harrison (1961a) was told that Indians used to camp on "Cottonwood Point" and had sweathouses there, but the last time these sweathouses were seen was around 1916 (Harrison 1961a). In addition, local non-Natives indicated that Indian people from Washington State together with Indians who were identified as Kutenai — but who appear from the description to have been Lakes — continued to come here seasonally to fish into the early 20th century. Mrs. W. Marshall of East Arrow Park reported that Indians visited the Burton area, and that "the only reason why they were there is they came to the fishing. There was excellent fishing there. They were getting char [Dolly varden]." Their "tee-pees," according to Mrs. Marshall, were all gone by about 1918, after which time they lived here in log houses (Marshall 1965). Mrs. R. Islip of

Nakusp noted in 1938 that up to the time she first came to the area [presumably in the early 1900s], there were "both Kootenay and American Indians living down below Burton, and they left in their canoes every little while and go down to Washington" (Islip 1971). On another occasion, Mrs. Islip said that the "headquarters" of the Indians in this area seemed to have been at Burton and "below the island" [in the Columbia River, near Burton] (Islip 1939).

Clark Marshall, who was born in Burton in 1908, recalled the Indian people coming up from the Colville area every summer, in sturgeon-nosed canoes, and camping around "Cottonwood Point." In particular, Mr. Marshall recalled Louis Joseph[66] and his family camping at Cottonwood Point. Eventually the Natives had log houses here, he added, but the last time he remembered them camping on the point was the early 1920s. Each summer the Native men fished for Dolly varden, which were especially plentiful off Cottonwood Point (Mr. Marshall does not recall the Indians getting kokanee here), while the Native women picked huckleberries (Marshall 1982:7; 1999a; 1999b). Clark Marshall added that he was told the Natives used to burn the countryside up Caribou Creek in order to stimulate berry growth, but this was done before his time (Marshall 1999b).

Clark Marshall also recalled "Caribou John" and his wife, Catherine (see Figure 18) who lived on the east side of Caribou Creek, about a mile up from its former mouth. Mr. Marshall remembered,

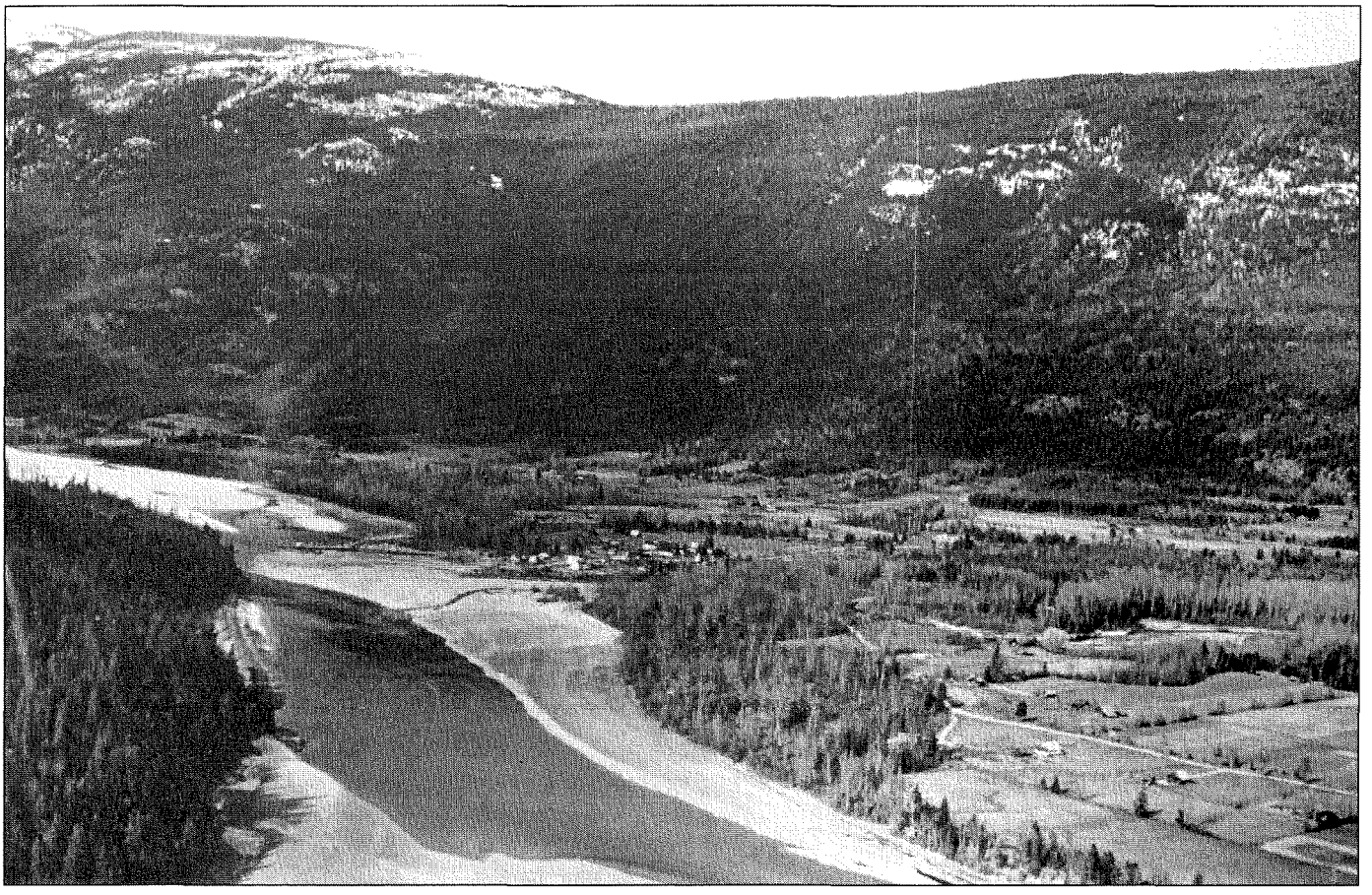


Figure 17. Burton (Vancouver Archives photo). Page 43, In, Faces of the Past: Centennial Series, Vol. 1. Published by the Arrow Lakes Historical Society, Nakusp, B.C., 1989.

Figure 18. "Caribou John" and his wife Catherine, 1909. Page 7, In, Whistle Stops Along the Columbia River Narrows. Published by the Burton New Horizons Book Committee, 1982.

Figure 19. Frank Paul. Page 9, In Whistle Stops Along the Columbia River Narrows. Published by the Burton New Horizons Book Committee, 1982

as well, the sweathouse that was at Caribou John's place. While Marshall identified Caribou John as coming originally from Shuswap country, he also recalled Caribou John and his wife, when they were old, leaving on a steamer for the Kettle Falls area, as they wanted to finish their lives living with friends and relatives (Marshall 1982:7; 1999b), thus suggesting a Lakes affiliation. On another occasion, Mr. Marshall (1999a) said that as far as he knew, both Caribou John and his wife came from "across the line," again suggesting a Lakes affiliation.

Mr. Marshall also mentioned Joe Paul and his sons Gregory and Peter (see Figure 19) who lived on Caribou Creek across from Caribou John's place. Joe Paul was also from "across the line," Clark Marshall noted. He added that Joe Paul raised hay by Caribou Creek, and Gregory Paul had racehorses in Burton (Marshall 1999a; 1999b). As discussed in Section 5.0 of the present report, an early settler of the Salmo area identified Joe Paul and his son as coming from the Colville Reservation (Mifflin 1958). Of the Lakes people we interviewed, Mary Marchand knew Joe and Gregory Paul as Lakes Indians who lived "somewhere around the Arrow Lakes."

A site near Burton was reportedly the scene of a battleground between two unnamed groups of Natives. Peter Harrison reported that one of his archaeology crew members had been taken by Mr. Lance Porter, a well-known local pioneer, to a ravine in the woods above Burton which was said to be a "battle ground":

> According to Porter the opposed groups stood on opposite banks and hurled insults at each other and a few arrows would be fired. It is reported as a traditional meeting ground during disputes, but it is not clear who the opposing camps were (Harrison 1961a).

This is clearly the same area identified by W. Mosely in a 1965 interview:

> Back of Burton was one place where they said there was on of the last battle fought amongst the Indians . . . there is a narrow pass up there — it goes right through to somewhere around Slocan City [at the south end of Slocan Lake] (Mosely 1965).

Mosely made another reference to the trail described in his account of the battle, noting that when the first White settlers came into this area they "followed the Indian trail through here" (Mosely 1965).

Independently, Clark Marshall mentioned this incident and this trail — he said there was a pass used by the Indians that went from Burton up Snow Creek and over to Little Slocan. There was said to have been a "battle" somewhere up here, between the Kutenai and Arrow Lakes Indians (Marshall 1999a). Subsequently Mr. Marshall (1999b) specified that as far as he knew, the battle took place along the south fork of Snow Creek.

Oatscott, the Arrow Lake Indian Reserve, and the Arrow Lake Indian Band

The one Indian Reserve that was established for the Arrow Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) people, identified by Indian Affairs officials as the "Arrow Lake Indian Band," was located at a place known locally as Oatscott, formerly situated on the west side of upper Lower Arrow Lake, about 7 miles (approximately 12 Km) south and across from Burton. As far as we are aware, no Native name for Oatscott has been recorded. The Arrow Lake Indian Reserve (see the discussion that follows) was immediately north of Christie Creek, and south of Fern Creek — both of these creeks are just north of Oatscott.

While archaeological evidence indicates that

the lands immediately south of Oatscott were used prehistorically (Turnbull 1977:31-32), we cannot say with certainty just how long the site at Oatscott (that became the Indian Reserve), itself, had been used. Neither Teit nor Ray made reference to the Lakes people using this place. However, Indian people interviewed at Oatscott in 1901 said they had lived there "for many years" (McLean 1901). Partial support for this is provided by botanist David Douglas' observations in 1827. Douglas indicated there were Natives both to the north and south of the Oatscott area, and that his own party camped "on a low sandy point on the left side, four miles from the upper end of the [Lower Arrow] lake," which may have been at Oatscott, although Douglas did not indicate that any Native people were at the place where he camped (Wilks 1959:249-251).

Aboriginal trails in the vicinity of Oatscott have been reported by several sources. In 1961, M. Bolinski told archaeologist Peter Harrison that a "pass behind Oatscott leads to Whatshan-Arrow Park trail to Okanagan via Cherryville." A Mr. Forslund said that "there was a passage route from Whatshan Lake via Sugar Lake and Fosthall to the Okanagan Valley, which the Indians used to communicate with the Arrow Lakes," and H. Jordan of Nakusp spoke about the Fire Valley [Inonoaklin Creek Valley] route formerly used by aboriginal people travelling between the Okanagan and the Arrow Lakes (Harrison 1961a). In 1965, W. Mosely of Burton and Nakusp also referred to Native use of the Fire Valley trail (Mosely 1965). Possibly these were part of the same trail system described in the 1860s by Magistrate W.G. Cox (1862) and Walter Moberly (Moberly 1869). Cox's 1862 report seems to describe the route through Inonoaklin Creek Valley, and Moberly's 1866 map (published in 1869) seems to indicate that one of the trails connected with an area near the north end of Whatshan Lake. James Teit also discussed the Inonaoklin Creek Valley (Fire Valley) trail:

> The other place [in addition to Revelstoke] where the Shuswap reached the Lakes was by the Fire Valley trail to lower Arrow Lake. They sometimes stayed most of the fall hunting cariboo and fishing. These people came from Spallumcheen & generally returned home for the winter (Teit 1908-1920).[67]

The presence of aboriginal people at Oatscott was first brought to the attention of the Department of Indian Affairs in May 1901 by Indian Agent R.L.T. Galbraith who in 1914 recalled that:

> . . . Near Burton I found two or three Indian houses, and a small band under an Indian by the name of Joseph — he having originally come from the Shuswap country (Galbraith 1914).

Galbraith reported this situation on June 8th, 1901 to J.D. McLean, the Indian Affairs Secretary and Assistant Deputy Superintendent in Ottawa, who in turn transmitted an excerpt of Galbraith's June 8th, 1901 report to Indian Superintendent and Indian Reserve Commissioner A.W. Vowell in Victoria. The excerprt of Galbraith's report, as cited by McLean, stated:

> On the 23rd [of May, 1901] I visited a little Band of Indians at the Arrow Lakes, on the Columbia River, for the first time. They claim to have lived there for many years. I found three Lower Kootenays, with their families amongst them. The others say they are Okanagans and Shuswaps. They have their homes near Burton City, a little

> mining town. They appear to make a good living hunting, trapping and fishing. They also work on the steamers that ply on the Columbia River. They are squatted on public Crown Lands, and have near little gardens around their homes. They are anxious that a portion of the land should be reserved for them and their families (McLean 1901).

The Departmental Secretary in Ottawa asked A.W. Vowell, the British Columbia Indian Superintendent and Indian Reserve Commissioner, to look into the matter, and suggested that Vowell consider "setting apart the land these Indians reside upon, as a Reserve, at some future convenient opportunity, if such action is found to be desirable" (McLean 1901).[68] Vowell responded to McLean on July 9th, 1901, stating that he would "take an early opportunity" to visit this area and, should he "consider it necessary," that he would "secure the land they desire as a reserve" (Vowell 1901).

Nothing happened until the following year. An article in the *Rossland Miner* newspaper of April 27th, 1902 reported that Indian Agent Galbraith had just "visited the various [Indian] camps along the river and Arrow lakes, with a view to ascertaining the condition of those Indians in this vicinity" (*Rossland Miner* 1902). The article indicated that Galbraith had been to Oatscott, as he had visited "the Indians located near Fire Valley [Inonoaklin Creek Valley]" and found that "they had extensively cultivated their gardens and planted many fruit trees" (*Rossland Miner* 1902).[69] On April 30th, 1902, Galbraith reported to Vowell that he had visited the "Indian settlement" on Lower Arrow Lake:

> but only found one Indian with his wife there. The others had gone south to hunt and fish. The Indian told me that the other Indians who claim the Arrow Lake section as their hunting ground, were anxious to have the Land which they have occupied for many years, set apart for them as a reserve. Baptiste Christian of Castlegar and Joseph of Trail whom I saw subsequently expressed their willingness to go the Reserve as soon as the question was settled.[70]
>
> The Indians living on the land have built themselves houses and fenced in some ground for gardens and planted a few fruit trees, and I think as a matter of justice that they should be protected.
>
> I should therefore recommend that a reserve be put on the land by the Provincial Government at once which would prevent any one from interfering with the Indians' improvements...
>
> The number of Indians, men, women, and children who claim Arrow Lakes as their home, is about thirty (Galbraith 1902a).

Following this visit, Galbraith submitted a rough sketch to Vowell's office proposing a Reserve of "say 640 A.[acres] more or less.[71] Galbraith's sketch showed the recommended Reserve lyng between Ellen Stack's pre-emption around Fern Creek to the north, and Christie Creek to the south. The western boundary was identified as "Mountain, very rocky and high." Within the proposed Reserve, "Baptiste's House" was identified along the water at the proposed

northern boundary, with "Louie's House" midway down the proposed allotment and "Frank's house" near its southern extremity. "Cariboo John's garden" was also identified just off the northern edge of the proposed allotment, on Ellen Stack's pre-emption (Arrow Lake Reserve sketch n.d.). Galbraith's sketch was accompanied by a description of the proposed Indian Reserve:

> Description of the land now occupied by the Arrow Lake Indians and which they ask to be reserved for them: That portion of land on the West side of Lower Arrow Lake, lying south of Mrs. Ellen Stack's pre-emption. Bounded on the north by Mrs Ellen Stack's pre-emption, on the south by Christie Creek, on the east by the Shore line of Lower Arrow Lake and on the west by a range of mountains running parallel with the Lake, and containing 640 acres more or less (Arrow Lake Reserve sketch n.d.).

Some time elapsed before Indian Reserve Commissioner Vowell came to the Arrow Lakes to allot the Reserve, apparently because many of the people were away from Oatscott engaged in other activities. Vowell had instructed Indian Agent Galbraith on June 4th, 1902 that "there is nothing like 'striking the iron while it is hot'" and requested that he arrange a meeting with the interested residents at the earliest possible date (Vowell 1902). However, Galbraith told Vowell on June 20th, 1902 that the Arrow Lakes people were probably "away at this season of the year hunting bear in the mountains" (Galbraith 1902b). A week later, on June 28th 1902, Galbraith told Vowell that the Justice of the Peace at Burton had told him that only one family had returned:

> Baptiste Klom and his family had passed down the Columbia River to his home at Fern Creek [Oatscott], but that he [Fred Richmond of Burton] did not think that the rest of the Indians, viz Joseph, Louis, Frank and John were there yet, but that they would likely be back later (Galbraith 1902c).[72]

Indian Reserve Commissioner Vowell and his surveyor Ashdown Green arrived at Burton on October 8th, 1902.[73] At Oatscott, Green surveyed an Indian Reserve between October 9th and October 16th, 1902, and Vowell, after examining the ground and interviewing the Natives resident there on October 9th and 10th, prepared the "Minute of Decision" formally allotting the Reserve on October 10th, 1902 (Green 1902; Arrow Lake Indian Reserve Minute of Decison 1902; Arrow Lake Indian Reserve Plan 1902; Vowell 1902a; 1902b).

The reserve allotted by Vowell was 255 acres, much less than Galbraith had originally recommended. However, the external boundaries of the Slack pre-emption and Christie Creek remained constant — it appears that no good land was excluded in Vowell's allotment from the area indicated in Galbraith's sketch. The area's topography, as indicated in Green's map made at the time of allotment, indicates that Galbraith had greatly overestimated the acreage of the non-mountainous land in this area, as the mountains come much close to the lakeshore than his sketch map intimates. Vowell indicated that "fully one half " of the 255-acre reserve consisted of "precipitous rocky mountain side" (Vowell 1902b).[74] In his report to British Columbia's Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works on October 25th, 1902, Vowell stated that:

> I have now the honour to enclose for your approval a Minute of Decision and sketch of a plot of land, 255 acres

> in extent, set apart by me for the use of the Indians now residing at Arrow Lake. These Indians number 22, and consist of six families who have hitherto lived independently of each other at Revelstoke, Trail, Lower Kootenay [confluence of Kootenay and Columbia] and the Arrow Lakes, no land having been assigned to them (Vowell 1902a).

The Provincial Government approved the Minute of Decision and Plan for the Arrow Lake Indian Reserve in November 1902.[75]

The Native people living on the new Arrow Lakes Reserve in 1902-1903 were of mixed ancestry. In the first census of the "Arrow Lake Indians" dated June 30th, 1903, the total population was shown as 26 (Arrow Lake Indian Band Census 1903). We have not been able to reconstruct independently the genealogical background for all the families identified in this census. However, local histories of the area and official government correspondence provide some information, although at times these accounts are contradictory.

The first identification of the Indian people living near Oatscott/Burton made by the Indian Affairs Department of which we are aware was undertaken by Kootenay Indian Agent R.L.T. Galbraith in June 1901. He identified the people here as Kutenai, Okanagan and Shuswap:

> I visited a little Band of Indians at the Arrow Lakes, on the Columbia River, for the first time. They claim to have lived here for many years. I found three Lower Kootenays, with their families amongst them. The others say they are Okanagans and Shuswaps (McLean 1901).

Subsequently, Galbraith referred to the "Arrow Lake Band" in the Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1903, stating that "These Indians are Shuswaps and Kootenays, who have lived and hunted for years along the Columbia river. They speak the Shuswap language, and a few speak English fairly well" (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1903:290). In 1914, Agent Galbraith, reflecting back on the situation he witnessed beginning in the 1870s, commented that the men at Burton/Oatscott, although originally Shuswap, had married "Colville" women (Galbraith 1914).

Galbraith's views of the tribal identity require some explanation, however. In a 1902 interview given to the *Rossland Miner*, Galbraith indicated that the Arrow Lakes Indians were historically a separate tribe (which Galbraith thought was located at Fort Shepherd — see the discussion of Fort Shepherd at the end of the present Section) and that after the post closed they scattered, "some going to the Colville Reservation and others to the Okanogan. Those remaining on the river are the remnants of a band which made Arrow lake and vicinity their hunting ground." While Galbraith was apparently aware of the Lakes' origins, it was his opinion that they spoke, circa 1900, Shuswap (*Rossland Miner* 1902), Okanagan [Okanagan - Colville], and English (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1903: 290; 1904: 253).[76] They formerly made Fort Shepherd their camping ground, Galbraith noted in the 1904 Annual Report.[77]

Galbraith's statements should be compared with those of James Teit, who is acknowledged to be a much superior ethnographic source. Teit recorded in May, 1909 that:

> The Kootenay mouth people [*sngaytskstx*] say emphatically that the Arrow Lake band are their own kin and speak the exact same language as

> themselves [the Lakes dialect of Okanagan-Colville]. They have intermarried from time to time with the Shuswap and in a less degree with the Kootenay. At the present time the Arrow Lake band is made up of some 24 who may be called Lakes and one Shuswap (from Spallumcheen) and one Kootenay (from Kootenay Lake) both women married there making about 26 altogether. They were all mentioned by name to me & some of them are cousins & other relations to the Kootenay mouth band (the latter number 11—10 Lakes and 1 Thompson) (Teit 1908-1920).

The man recognized as chief of the Arrow Lake Indian Reserve when it was first set aside was "Baptiste" (Galbraith 1902e), better known as Baptiste Klome. He was said to be 45 in the 1903 census which would place his birth at 1858. The 1903 census records the name of Baptiste's wife as Rosalie, but little else is known about her. In 1901, however, she and Baptiste took their three year old son and two month old daughter for baptism at the Catholic Mission in Revelstoke. It was noted when their names were recorded in the register (as "Baptiste and Rosalie Klone") by Father Thayer that they were from "Cariboo Creek, Nakusp" (Revelstoke Mission Register 1896-1913).

Reminiscences provided in the local histories by early White settlers refer to two men called "Baptiste," father and son. It appears that the "Baptiste" listed in 1903 was the brother of Annie Klome, although the possibility exists that this was her father with a new family. While the 1903 Census provided Annie's age as 32, information provided by Indian Agency Inspector George Pragnell in May 1937 suggests Annie might have been only 24 years old in 1903 (Pragnell 1937), making it possible for her to be the daughter of a man 21 years her senior. Most accounts indicate the "Baptiste" on the 1903 census was Annie's brother. Annie's mother, according to Annie herself, was not Rosalie — the wife of Baptiste listed in the 1903 Census — but Mary Louise (Pragnell 1937), suggesting that it was an earlier "Baptiste" who was the father of both Baptiste (Jr.) and Annie. Further confirmation of Annie's age is provided by the DIA Census book for 1920 which indicates her birth year as 1868.

A 1938 Department of Indian Affairs document reports that Annie's parents were both "born in the neighbourhood" and baptized at Ward Mission in Washington State. An elderly man named Baptiste accompanied Stanford Fleming through Eagle Pass in 1883 (Fleming 1884), but it cannot be ascertained if this individual was the father of Annie and Baptiste, Jr. Their father's brother, named Victor Joseph, had two children, both of whom married in Washington State (Pragnell 1937).

In the 1903 Census, Annie is identified as the thirty-two year old wife of Louis Joseph. After Louis Joseph died, Annie followed her brother, Baptiste (the younger) to the Shuswap country and then ended up at Vernon, living common-law with Joe Parker. She died there in 1953, and was recognized as the last surviving Arrow Lakes Band member to have been born and raised on the Arrow Lakes. It is reported that Annie's brother, Baptiste Klome, had tried settling among the Shuswap in 1919, but was made unwelcome by the people at Spallumcheen, at least for a time (Anon. 1919; Coleman 1935). In a statement given by his nephew in 1943, Baptiste Klome was said to have been the brother of Pierre Charlie, also called Pierre Klome, of Enderby, and that both men were regarded as Shuswap (Barber 1943). Baptiste had several children, the names of

whom appear in the record of the Burton graveyard compiled in 1931. At that time, the following were identified as his children: Perrish, Sam Pierre, Suzette, and Ellen. Baptiste Klome and his wife were also buried here. Additionally, the names of Abram and Matthew appear in the 1903 census. Though the Indian Agent reported that Annie came from a large family of 14, the names of other children are not known, with the exception of Mary Ann, an adopted daughter raised by Annie's mother. Mary Ann's natural parents, Alex and Millie, were from Colville (Pragnell 1937). It is possible that Annie and Baptiste had different mothers — a record of the gravestones at Burton made in 1931 noted that one burial was for "Susan, Baptiste's mother."

The 1903 Census also listed a man named Antoine (born 1879). This was Antoine Baptiste, who was killed near Burton during a fracas in August 1909 (*Revelstoke Mail-Herald* 1909; Lance Porter, In, McCormack 1958:13).

Frank Joseph and Louie (Louis) Joseph were brothers. Several different statements have been given concerning their tribal affiliation. As discussed above, Frank and Louie Joseph were among the Natives at Burton/Oatscott who Indian Agent Galbraith identified as Shuswap and Kutenai, but on another occasion identified as coming from Fort Shepherd, which is a well known place where Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) people had lived. A Lower Kutenai affiliation is suggested by Annie Klome Joseph's statement that her husband, Louis Joseph, came from Creston with his mother when a young boy and went to the Arrow Lakes to live (Pragnell 1937). Another source, a non-Native pioneer of the Burton area, was of the opinion that Louie Joseph belonged to a branch of the "Sioux" and had lived below the U.S. border at a place called "Norsburg" [Bossberg, near Kettle Falls] Washington (Lance Porter [Bob Hewatson], in McCormack 1958:13). Clark Marshall, another early resident of Burton, also mentioned the "Sioux" affiliation of Louis Joseph, and said that he "came up the Columbia River and to the Arrow Lakes with some of the Colville Indians" and made his home at Cottonwood Point near Burton (Marshall 1982:7, in, Burton New Horizons Book Committee 1982; 1999a). Subsequently, however, Mr. Marshall said this was not correct, that his "Sioux" identification for Louis Joseph was actually based on Lance Porter's [Bob Hewatson's] statement, and that he was "certain" that Louis Joseph was "Colville," and *not* Sioux (Marshall 1999a:pers.comm.). Another Burton pioneer (possibly Joe Porter), who was 92 years old in 1961 and was interviewed by Peter Harrison (1961a), reportedly said that "The Kootenays were Colville tribe & Louis Joseph was from this group" [although Harrison wrote " ? " after this statement in his fieldnotes]. Still another non-Native settler, interviewed in 1965, was of the opinion that Louie Joseph was a direct descendant of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce tribe (Mosely 1965).

We have not been able, ourselves, to independently confirm the ethnic affiliation of Frank and Louie (Louis) Joseph. Of the Lakes people we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s, Mary Marchand and Julia Quintasket both referred to a man whose name they gave only as *skalaswá* who we determined (from other information provided by Mrs. Marchand) to be Frank Joseph.

Louis Joseph was born in 1869, according to the 1903 census, and his brother Frank was born in 1870. Both men were well-liked by the local non-Natives. Sometimes Louis and Frank Joseph went by the surname "Kootenay," thus there are references in various documents to "Louis Kootenay" and to "Frank Kootenay" (or, "Kootenay Frank"). However it is not known if this was with reference to their tribal affiliation or

to their residency in the West Kootenays. Louie's father was "Joe" ("Joseph") who had died some years prior to 1914 and who Galbraith (1914) thought had been a Chief at one time. Louie's mother was "Catherine" (Galbraith 1914).[78] Frank Joseph, who also lived for a portion of each year in the Lardeau/Duncan region (see Section 7), died in September 1932 (Ryckman 1932b). Although he had been referred to in June 1932 as "Chief Frank Joseph of Arrow Lakes" (*Nelson Daily News* 1932), it is not known what year he had assumed this chieftainship.

Louie Joseph was well-liked by the White settlers and several have mentioned him in their accounts of the area's history. Apparently he related to them stories of his early days, which they considered to be "before the gold rush" (Burton Book Committee 1982), an obvious error considering he was born in 1869 and came to the Arrow Lakes region as a boy. His parents may have come north some time earlier, however, for William Mosely (1965) recalled hearing that they came when the "Americans were fighting," presumably a reference to the Indian wars of the 1850s.

Frank Joseph (Frank Kootenay) was the husband of Malie (b. 1871) [Mary Ann], adopted sister of Annie Klome. In 1903, they had two children, Mary Ann (b.1896), who subsequently married non-Indians, and Christine, who died in 1918. After Frank was involved in the murder of a relative, Mary Ann left him and married Klaus Johnson. Frank later got together with Mary Ann Goodman, a widow from the Lower Kootenay Band, who had several daughters. In 1932, the year Frank died, the family had asked to become Arrow Lake Band members (Ryckman 1932a; 1932b). His widow subsequently married a member of the Lower Kootenay Band. By 1943, her remaining children, with the exception of one young daughter, had married Native men from various parts of the Kootenay Agency (Irwin 1943b; 1943c).

Caribou John (b. 1849) and his wife Catherine (b. 1853) are listed as residents of the Burton (Oatscott) Reserve in 1903. Later they had a home located close to the bridge on Caribou Creek (see Figure 18). One source, Clark Marshall, said that Caribou John came originally from the Shuswap country, but eventually the old couple left on the steamer for the Kettle Falls area, as they wanted to finish their lives living with friends and relatives (Marshall 1982:7; 1999b), thus suggesting a Lakes affiliation. On another occasion, Mr. Marshall (1999a) said that as far as he knew, both Caribou John and his wife came from "across the line," again suggesting a Lakes affiliation. When younger, Caribou John and his wife raised a foster child named Susie (McCormack 1958).

A second man named Baptiste appearing in the 1903 Census of the Burton Reserve is Baptiste Christian who lived also at the Kootenay/ Columbia confluence. There was considerable animosity between the Christian family and those men of Shuswap and Kootenay ancestry residing on the Burton Reserve. The 1903 Census lists the families of Baptiste Christian (b. 1862), Joseph (b. 1863), Alexander (b.1873), and "Antonic," identified here as the mother of Baptiste. She is the same individual referred to by ethnographer James Teit as Antoinette, the mother of Baptiste and Alex. Her husband, then deceased, was named Christian (Teit 1912a; 1912b; Christian 1914). One source stated that Christian was of mixed Native-White ancestry (McCormack 1958).

While documentation is scanty, it appears that the sizable Christian family never did move to Oatscott, but remained based in their residences at Brilliant and nearby areas, with their numbers diminishing through death, until the 1920s, after which time it appears that Baptiste and Alex

moved south to the Colville Reservation area. In 1903, however, the name Baptiste Christian does appear on the "Census of Arrow Lake Indians."[79] He is said to be 41 years old in 1903 and married to Sophie, ten years his senior. Two children are listed: Agnes, nine; and Paskol, eight. Alex was listed with his wife Theresa, then 22-years old, and 40-year old Joseph (likely the brother subsequently buried at the Brilliant site) lived there with Mary Ann, then twenty-five.(Mary Ann subsequently died, in March 1911; see the discussion of the Brilliant settlement that follows).

Departmental records through the mid-1930s often refer to the Arrow Lake Band of "the Burton Indians," because several of them lived most of the time at Burton. Indeed, a 1948 investigation by the Kootenay Indian Agent found that no Indians had resided *permanently* on the reserve since about 1916 (Dunn 1948), although there appear to have been people living there seasonally until Frank Joseph's death in 1932. The Band population as a whole declined swiftly, with several of the younger males dying of tuberculosis and the younger females marrying outside the Band and losing their Band status. The Band's population was recorded as 26 in 1903, 21 in 1912,[80] 18 in 1917, 10 in 1924, and 3 in 1929 (Canada, Indian Affairs Annual Reports 1903; 1912; 1917; 1924; Raichman 1947).

In September 1935, F.S. Ryckman, the Kootenay Indian Agent, informed Assistant B.C. Indian Commissioner Charles Perry that "the only three surviving members of Arrow Lakes Reserve are Mrs. Frank [Annie] Joseph, widow of the late Frank Joseph, and her three daughters, who are now attending Kootenay Indian Residential School" (Ryckman 1935c).[81] On December 29th, 1936, Okanagan Indian Agent James Coleman recorded that Annie Joseph, who was living on Okanagan I.R. No. 1 with an Okanagan man, "has no knowledge of any survivor of the [Arrow Lake] Reserve except herself" (Coleman 1936). This letter of Coleman's was forwarded to the Secretary of the Indian Affairs Department in Ottawa by Kootenay Indian Agent Andrew Irwin on February 11th , 1937, at which time he referred to Annie Joseph as the "last surviving adult member of the Arrow Lake Reserve" (Irwin 1937a).

On March 22nd, 1937, Coleman wrote the following to Irwin:

> With further reference to the matter of Arrow Lake Indians timber so far as I am able to ascertain Annie Joseph now residing on Okanagan I.R. No. 1, and living unmarried with Joe Parker, of the Okanagan Band, is the only remaining member of this Reserve. I had her in the office this morning and discussing the matter with her came to the conclusion that it might facilitate matters if I had her agree to the admission of Joseph Parker to her Band and I enclose her consent and his agreement herewith and you can handle the matter in any way satisfactory to yourself and the Department disregarding her statement if it is not admissible. Joe Parker stated that he would sign a surrender of the timber if he was transferred to Annie Joseph's Band (Coleman 1937).

Nothing took place however. On June 23rd, 1943, Irwin noted "It is becoming more apparent daily that the Arrow Lake Band of Indians will soon become extinct," and he added:

> The Reserve, as stated, has long since been abandoned, and the possibility that it may revert at any time to the Provincial Government would seem to indicate the need of immediate action,

> in order to protect the Indians to the extent of the value of the timber whatever it may be (Irwin 1943a).[82]

On September 27th, 1952, R.H.S. Sampson, Superintendent of the Okanagan Indian Agency, noted that Annie Joseph was now said to be 74 years of age, and there was a possibility that because she was the last recognized Arrow Lake Indian Band member, the Reserve could revert to the Province. Sampson thus suggested to B.C. Indian Commissioner W.S. Arneil that:

> . . . it has occurred to me that it would be wise to amalgamate the Arrow Lake Band with the Okanagan Band, thereby preserving the Arrow Lake Reserve with its timber resources, for the Indians. This could apparently be accomplished under sub-section (b) of Section 17 of the [Indian] Act [which states that the Minister of Indian Affairs, whenever he considers it desirable, may amalgamate bands that, by a vote of a majority of their electors request to be amalgamated]. It is considered that Mrs. Joseph. . . would be willing to give her consent to such an amalgamation. This proposition has also been previously discussed with the Okanagan Band Council, and they are prepared to recommend it (Sampson 1952).

On November 6th, 1952, the Okanagan Indian Band at Vernon passed a Band Council resolution consenting to this suggested amalgamation, and on May 17th, 1953, the Arrow Lake Band (through Annie Joseph) passed a Band Council resolution consenting to amalgamation with the Okanagan Band (Okanagan Indian Band 1952; Arrow Lake Band 1953).

Approval of the amalgamation was not automatic, however. L.L. Brown, the Superintendent of Reserves and Trusts, indicated the opposition of the Department in Ottawa to the amalgamation, and thought that the transaction appeared to be a subterfuge. He told Sampson on June 23rd, 1953 that:

> ...there are one or more disturbing factors... [it] appears that the amalgamation has been proposed solely to prevent this reserve from reverting to the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government if and when the Arrow Lake Indian Band becomes extinct. . . It would further appear that the Okanagan Band would be the only ones benefiting from the Amalgamation (Brown 1953, cited in Siegrist 1981).

Brown also stated that this Reserve's remote distance from the Okanagan Reserves — about 90 miles (approximately 140 Km) away — would not permit good administration (Brown 1953, cited in Siegrist 1981). Agent Sampson believed that the Department was justified in trying to retain control of any Reserves, but acknowledged that the distance from the Okanagan Reserves would not make administration by the Okanagan Band practical (Sampson 1953, cited in Siegrist 1981). On October 2nd 1953, B.C. Indian Commissioner Arneil advised Sampson that he would concur with the Departmental view, and that the amalgamation would not be proceeded with (Arneil 1953, cited in Siegrist 1981). Unbeknownst to Arneil, Annie Joseph had died the previous day, October 1st 1953.

In the absence of the amalgamation, following Annie Joseph's death the Arrow Lakes became the first Band in British Columbia to be declared officially "extinct". On July 22nd, 1955, L.A.

Couture, Legal Advisor to the Indian Affairs Department, wrote a memorandum for the Minister in which he stated "The Arrow Lake Band of Indians became extinct a short time ago through the death of the last surviving member of the Band, an old Indian lady." He then cited the relevant reversionary interest clause of the McKenna-McBride agreement and stated "Hence, the reserve itself shall be conveyed to the Province" (Couture 1955).

On January 5th, 1956, Order In Council No. 1956-3 was passed by the Privy Council in Ottawa, transferring the "control, management and administration of the unsold portion of the Arrow Lake Reserve. . . to Her Majesty the Queen in right of the Province of British Columbia" (Canada 1956). Finally, on January 20th, 1956, Indian Commissioner Arneil wrote to the Lands Branch of the British Columbia Government. He cited the reversionary interest clause of B.C. Order In Council No. 1036 of July 29th 1938 and stated "We are satisfied that this Band has become extinct." He enclosed a copy of the Privy Council's Order In Council No. 1956-3 (Arneil 1956).[83]

At the time the Canadian government declared the Arrow Lake Indian Band "extinct", there were 257 enrolled members of the Colville Confederated Tribes in Washington State who were identified as Lakes Indians (Bloodworth 1959:54-57).

Whatshan Lake/Inonoaklin Creek Area

Teit (1930b:210) recorded "*nemī´meltem*" as the name of a Lakes camp "on Caribou Lake [Whatshan Lake], to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes" and stated that "the country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground" (Teit 1930b:210). Ray's (1936b:128) "*nəmi´məltəm*" appears to be only a retranscription of Teit's "*nemī´meltem.*" While neither Teit nor Ray translated the term, it seems clear to us that the term transcribed is actually *nmímeltm* which means 'having whitefish' in the Okanagan-Colville language.[84] Although we stated in 1985 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:96) that we did not know if whitefish were/are found in Whatshan Lake, we have now been told by fisheries biologists that whitefish, specifically mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*), *are* found in this lake (Lindsay 2000b; Hildebrand 2000b). Moreover, Clark Marshall (1999b) has pointed out that Whatshan Lake *was* formerly a very well known place to catch whitefish.

It appears that a second Native name has been recorded for Whatshan Lake. Walter Moberly's 1866 map identifies the lake (and possibly also the creek which drains it) as "*Waatshaan*" (Moberly 1869:map). This is the term which has subsequently been anglicized as "Whatshan," and is the present name of the lake and the creek. We do not know what indigenous term Moberly was attempting to transcribe.

Several sources, as we have discussed, have mentioned an aboriginal trail through the Inonoaklin Creek Valley, also known as the Fire Creek Valley. It seems very likely that "Inonoaklin" is an anglicization of an Indian term, but as we noted in 1985 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:95), we do not recognize what this term was, nor are we aware of separate Native names ever having been recorded for Edgewood or for Needles. According to James Teit (1908-1920), the Fire Valley trail was a route by which the Shuswap reached Lower Arrow Lake, where they "sometimes stayed most of the fall hunting cariboo and fishing." Teit added that the Shuswaps who used this trail "came from Spallumcheen & generally returned home for the winter." Archaeological evidence from the general area, including sites near the outlet of Whatshan Lake at Needles and the area around

the mouth of Inonoaklin Creek, indicates a considerable time depth of usage — the floor of one of the four pithouses at the Inonoaklin Creek site was dated to about 3090 ± 200 years B.P. (Turnbull 1977:31-32).

W.G. Cox in 1862 appeared to indicate a trail down Inonoaklin Creek (Cox 1862). Several years later, Moberly's 1866 map (published in 1869) seemed to indicate that a trail connected with an area near the north end of Whatshan Lake. In 1961, M. Bolinski told archaeologist Peter Harrison that a "pass behind Oatscott leads to Whatshan-Arrow Park trail to Okanagan via Cherryville." A Mr. Forslund said that "there was a passage route from Whatshan Lake via Sugar Lake and Fosthall to the Okanagan Valley, which the Indians used to communicate with the Arrow Lakes," and H. Jordan of Nakusp spoke about the Fire Valley [Inonoaklin Creek Valley] route formerly used by aboriginal people travelling between the Okanagan and the Arrow Lakes (Harrison 1961a). In 1965, W. Mosely of Burton and Nakusp also referred to Native use of the Fire Valley trail (Mosely 1965).

Lower Arrow Lake (unspecified location)

Verne Ray was the only source for a place name that he transcribed as "*məmatsi´ntɪn*," translated as 'log leaning outside a cave,' identified as a Lakes "village on Lower Arrow Lake, exact location uncertain," and described as "a center for hunting mountain goat in March and April" (Ray 1936b:127).

We noted in 1985 that while none of our Lakes consultants knew of such a place name, Charlie Quintasket, upon hearing the term, said it was likely *memagtsíntn*, an Okanagan- Colville term that Mr. Quintasket said was better translated as 'log used for crossing,' rather than 'log leaning outside a cave' as Ray suggested (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:109).

Deer Park

Verne Ray is the only source who recorded a place name here. He wrote that "*plu´me*" (which he did not translate, and we do not recognize) was a Lakes "temporary camp on the east side of Lower Arrow Lake near the site of the present Deer Park," and said that "It marked the end of the hunting and fishing territory" (Ray 1936b:127). Ray's latter statement is puzzling, given that he identified numerous hunting and fishing areas north from here.

We are aware of one ethnohistoric source from the late 19th century which makes a specific identification of the Native people at Deer Park as Lakes Indians. Captain Robert Sanderson, in an 1895 interview, indicated that:

> In the fall of 1887, two others and myself were camping at Deer Park with the intention of trapping and hunting all winter. One day eight Indians came and asked us to leave — said that country belonged to them, and their chief had instructed them to command us to leave. I told them they were Colville Indians and belonged on the other side of the line; that we were King George men, and intended to stop there that winter. As an answer to their threat — which it really was — I told them that we were three good marksmen and would stay there; that the land belonged to King George, and not to the Colville Indians. They went away and did not disturb us, probably because of our expressed determination to defend ourselves (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

Apparently there *were*, as the English name "Deer Park" suggests, many deer here. George Dawson (1890:14b) recorded that the Deer Park

area was "frequented by great numbers of deer, when in winter their higher pastures in the mountains become covered with snow." F.G. Hamblin, who came to Deer Park in 1896, recalled there were still "quite a number of Indians" at Deer Park at that time, and in the spring of the year "when the deer were low in the mountain," the Natives would take their dogs into the hills and turn them loose to chase the deer down into the lake, where they would be killed by Indian women in canoes using knives attached to poles (Johnson 1964:210).

Harlan I. Smith (c.1930) recorded in his fieldnotes that Kutenai Indians were using Cayuse Creek, which flows into Lower Arrow Lake approximately 2 miles (about 3 Km) south of Deer Park, and also Sunshine Creek, approximately 10 miles (16 Km) north of Deer Park, presumably for fishing (H.Smith c.1930). The source of Smith's information is unknown, and it is possible that he may have believed the Arrow Lakes Indians were Kutenai, and thus attributed their use of this area to the Kutenai. It is also possible that the Lower Kutenai were coming to these places in the early 20th century. Smith's data are not specific enough to confirm whether Kutenai people, Lakes people, or both were coming here, just that some Native people were using this part of Lower Arrow Lake in the early 20th century.

Though the ethnographic data indicates that Deer Park was a hunting and fishing camp, archaeological evidence indicates that a prehistoric winter village was once located here. A total of 22 housepits were recorded at this site, and dates of 580±2170 B.P. and 920±2050 B.P. were recorded in association with these housepits (Turnbull 1977:31). Robb Sutherland, an energetic artifact collector in this area during the years after 1914, reported that of the many old settlement sites he examined in the region, only this one, and a site at Grohman Creek on the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, showed evidence of former pithouses (H.Smith c.1930) (see also Section 6.0 of the present report).

Renata

The old townsite at Renata, which was on the west side of Lower Arrow Lake, across from Deer Park and a short distance up the lake, was submerged during the construction of the High Arrow [Keeeleyside] dam.

While no Native name for Renata has been recorded, Peter Harrison (1961a) recorded in his fieldnotes a statement from a man apparently named Mr. "Ulsin"[85] that his property there was the "last occupied ground by Indians" in that area. Mr. Ulsin also said that an Indian cabin was still standing on his property at Renata until about 1930. He did not identify the ethnicity of the Native people who used to be there.

Brooklyn

The old 1890s townsite at Brooklyn, a short-lived railroad settlement situated directly across the lake from Deer Park, is now submerged. No aboriginal name has been recorded for this site, although Kate Johnson (1964:214) wrote that before the settlement at Brooklyn was established, "a large tribe of Indians" lived here. Johnson provided no additional information.

Arrow Rock

As far as we know, no Native name has been recorded for the well-known landmark referred to as the "Arrow Rock," located on the north side of Lower Arrow Lake, approximately midway between Cayuse Creek and Tulip Creek, approximatley 9 miles (about 14 Km) west from what is today the Keenleyside Dam. Several detailed references to Arrow Rock — which was said to have had holes in its face that were filled

with Indian arrows — were made in the first half of the 19th century.

The first recorded reference to this place appears to have been made by Alexander Ross in April of 1825. He noted that it was in the vicinity of the lower end of Lower Arrow Lake but did not indicate what side of the lake it was on. Ross' description was as follows:

> . . . into a large cavity, at a considerable height above high-water mark, a number of arrows have been shot, which remain as a menace left by some distant tribe who had passed there on a warlike expedition. The natives understand these signs, and can tell, on examining the arrows, to which tribe they belong (Ross 1855:167).

In October of 1826, Hudson's Bay Company employee Emilius Simpson gave a description of this place while proceeding downriver which indicated clearly that it was in the vicinity of Deer Park. Simpson referred to it as the "Arrow Rock" and stated it was "so named on account of a round hole in its face full of arrows said to have been fired at it by Indians when practising the Bow & Arrow before a war excursion" (E. Simpson 1826).

Ranald McDonald, who was born in 1824, passed the site as a six-year old boy as part of a fur brigade under the charge of Duncan Finlayson. McDonald recalled in 1890 that the brigade:

> pitched camp on the shore of Arrow Lake on a beautiful sandy beach, at the back of which was a huge mountain of perpendicular rocks hundreds of feet in height frowning down upon them, and on the face of which were three cavities or holes about two to three feet in diameter that were completely filled with Indian arrows. These holes were up about thirty feet from the shore, the arrows, no doubt, having been shot up from below, and were wedged in so tight that it was almost impossible to dislodge them (*Kootenay Star* 1890b).

McDonald indicated that he recalled the incidently vividly because Finlayson had fired into one of the holes with a gun, and brought down some of the arrows for Macdonald (*Kootenay Star* 1890b). In another account, also recorded in 1890, Ranald McDonald stated that:

> On our passage up the Columbia to the Boat Encampment, the Brigade had a spell and a smoke at this place. I recollect the boats were right under a high & perpendicular wall of rock and the arrows embedded in holes or hollows some 30 or 40 feet above us . . . if I recollect right there were two or three such holes . . . I recollect there was something said of a large war party of the Lake Indians or Upper Columbia River Indians invading the Kutanays or Mountaineers, had defeated the mountaineers & had captured a large quantity arrows and having no further need of them expended them in these holes to commemorate the location [sic] I am sure the spot is at the lower Lake . . . (McDonald 1890).[86]

J.R. Anderson, the son of veteran fur trader A.C. Anderson, also noted the Arrow Rock from information in his father's journal. J.R. Anderson wrote:

> The Arrow Lakes ... are so named on account of the custom that prevailed

> amongst the natives of shooting arrows into a certain rock which juts out into the lake . . . my Father, the late A.C. Anderson in his journal of a journey through the Lakes in the Forties [1840s] mentions the fact that on arriving at the rock in question the Indian canoe men all shot arrows at the rock, any of which stuck in the moss, which I believe was considered to be lucky (J.R. Anderson n.d.).

A.C. Anderson's actual 1842 map (recopied by him in 1866) indicates that "Arrow Rock" is in the vicinity of Deer Park (Anderson 1842 [1866]).

In May 1846, Father Paul De Smet also passed and described the Arrow Rock. He stated that:

> We passed under a perpendicular rock, where we beheld an innumerable number of arrows sticking out of the fissures. The Indians . . . have a custom of lodging an arrow into these crevices. The origin and cause of the custom is unknown to me. This is the reason why the first voyageurs called these lakes, the Arrow lakes (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:II:549).

Kate Johnson (1964:2) wrote that Robert Sanderson, a steamboat captain who came to the area in 1885, "knew the place [Arrow Rock] well and described it as being about seven miles above the outlet of the lower lake on the east side." Sanderson gave much the same account to the *Kootenay Star* in 1890, stating that the rocks:

> are located seven miles above the outlet of the lower lake about 15 miles north of Sproat on the easterly side of the lake. He has seen them many times and has run his steamer close to them. They are bold and precipitous, 90 to 100 feet high, rising abruptly out of the water and the arrows or "peace pictures" are about 30 feet above high water. He thinks not many of the arrows are remaining because passing boatmen have knocked them out with poles and guns as curiosities. There are also rude pictures, painted on the rocks with red paint on a background of white. Capt. Sanderson calls them "peace" or "peace pictures," which is the nearest interpretation he can give to the Indian meaning (*Kootenay Star* 1890b).

Outlet of Lower Arrow Lake

Two different transcriptions have been provided for a named place at the former end of Lower Arrow Lake. The first was provided by W.G. Cox in late September 1861 when he was travelling through this area in the company of Lakes Indians and wrote that the entrance to Lower Arrow Lake "is named by the Indians *'smoip'* "[87] (Cox provided no translation). The second transcription was provided by Ray (1936b:127), who identified "*sm·a´ip'* " (translated as 'large log leaning against a tree') as a Lakes "temporary camping place at the foot of Lower Arrow Lake." Ray's (1936b:114) map situates "*sm·a´ip'* " on the north side of the Columbia River. Clearly the terms transcribed by Cox and Ray are the same place name. While we noted in 1985 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:112) that our Lakes consultants did not recognize such a place name, it is now our tentative conclusion that this term may actually be derived from the Okanagan-Colville term *mág7em* 'break something.'

Prior to the construction of the High Arrow [Keenleyside] Dam, the original entrance to

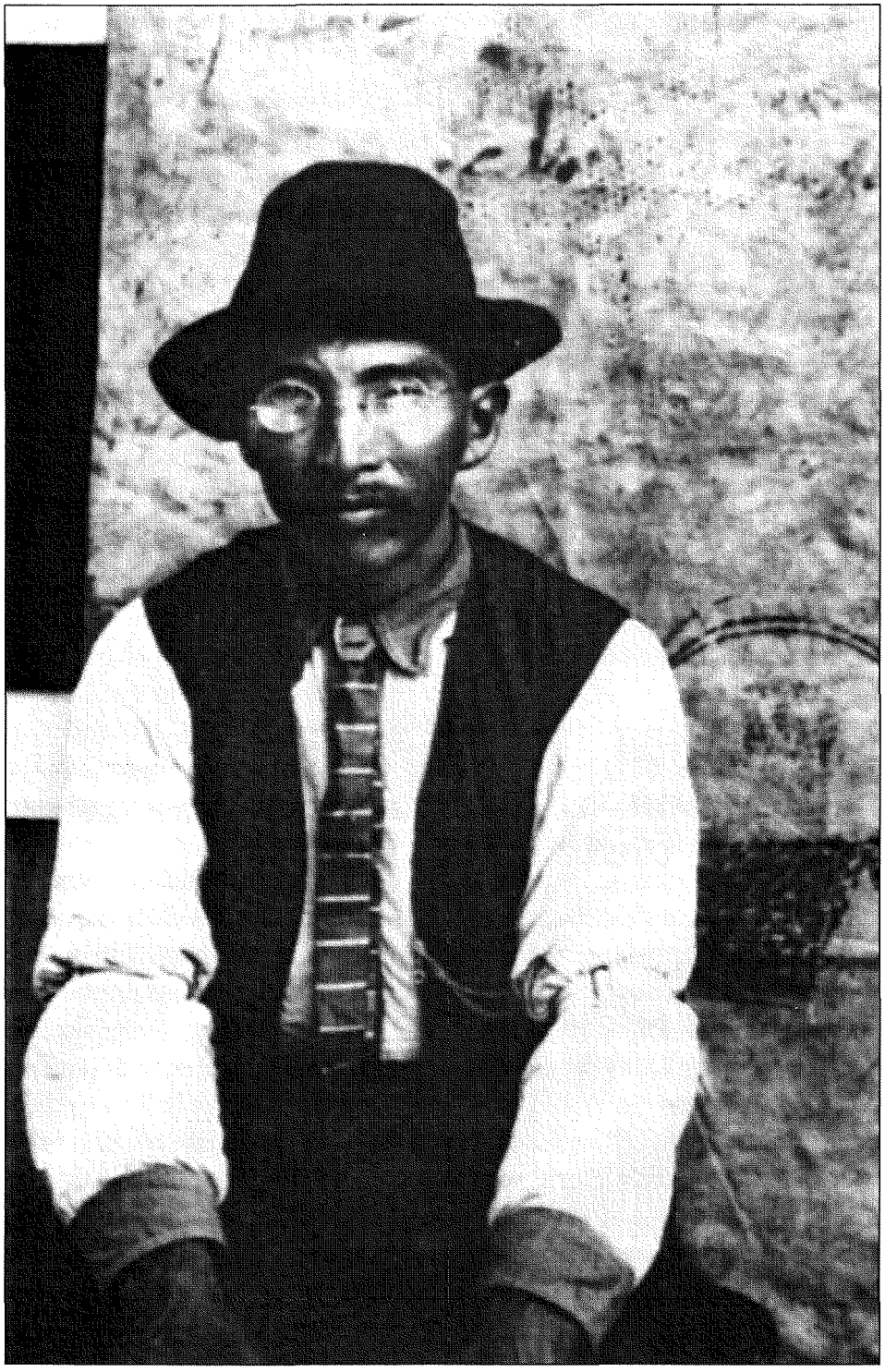


Figure 20. Alexander Christian, 1914 (James Teit photo, No. 26616). Page 224, In, The Interior Salish Tribes of British Columbia: A Photographic Collection, edited by Leslie H. Tepper. Published by the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, (Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service, Paper No. 111), 1987.

Lower Arrow Lake was apparently "about half a mile" upriver (west) from the confluence of Syringa Creek with the north side of the Columbia River (Webster 2000:pers.comm.).[88] Thus we assume that the Lakes camping area in question ("*sm·a'ip'* ") was here, approximately half a mile up the Columbia from the mouth of Syringa Creek, and on the north side of the river.[89]

Harlan I. Smith's (c. 1930) fieldnotes indicate that Syringa Creek was used by the Kutenai. While the source of Smith's data was not indicated, it is possible that his information may have applied to the Lakes people instead of or as well as the Kutenai. Notwithstanding, Smith still indicated that Syringa Creek was being used by Natives in the early 20th century.

Alexander Christian (see Figure 20), a well-known Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) Native man, reported in 1914 that he had moved to Syringa Creek when his home at Brilliant had been taken by Doukhobor settlers [in 1912; see also the discussion of Brilliant that follows] (Christian 1914).

Frank Webster of Robson, born in 1912, remembers Alex Christian well. Mr. Webster lived between 1918-1964 about 4 miles (approximately 6.5 Km) downriver from Syringa Creek. In October 1999, Frank Webster pointed out to Bouchard the location where Alex Christian had a shack in the 1920s (Webster 1999). The place pointed out is in the vicinity of two creeks that are about a mile downriver from Rialto Creek, which itself is just downriver from the Keenleyside Dam. Mr. Webster recalls that Mr. Christian's shack here was about 12' by 8' and was constructed of driftwood and shakes, and that during the 1920s, Alex used it only during June-October each year (but see the discussion that follows). Frank also remembers Alex travelling by sturgeon-nosed canoe, fishing with a hand-line, and spending considerable time hunting in the nearby hills. Mr. Christian in the late 1920s showed Mr. Webster the location of two graves—they were near Alex's shack, and Alex told him, very quietly, that they were his wife and daughter (Webster 1999) (see also the discussion that follows of Sandy Island, near Trail).

It was the early 1920s when Frank Webster first saw Alexander Christian. As far as Mr. Webster knows, Mr. Christian came from "Colville." Frank Webster notes that Alex Christian — often referred to as "Alex the Indian" or "Indian Alex" — was well known and well liked. Frank recalls seeing Alex hunting Canada geese which were feeding on freshwater shellfish on the sandbar that formerly existed, just upriver from the present-day Keenleyside Dam. Frank also recalls Alex fishing by trolling with a hand-line in his sturgeon-nosed canoe, off from the "Big Rock" where the Keenleyside Dam was later built (Webster 1999).

Frank Webster vividly recalls that he, himself, once hunted with Alex Christian, in the winter of 1928 or 1929 (this was the only time that Frank saw Alex in this area during winter). Frank was about 17 years old — it seemed to him at that time that Alex was very old, and very slow (Frank also recalls him having only one eye). A couple of feet of snow were on the ground, and Alex asked Frank to accompany him. The two walked ever so slowly up the hillside near Alex's shack. Alex carried a long stick, on the end of which was tied a piece of white rag. The old man waved the stick to get the deer's attention, then once obtained, quickly withdrew it again. Then they walked a little ways down the hill and repeated the procedure, until finally, the deer had been lured to the road below where it was shot. Two deer were hunted in this manner (one shot by Alex, and one by Frank), and then butchered on the road. Alex loaded the deer into his canoe and headed downstream. Apparently, Alex was known to be

generous with his catch and distributed it among his White neighbours (Webster 1999).

Another source, a former local policeman named Bill Deavitt who died in the late 1940s, recalled a hunting trip he made in 1916 with Alex Christian, in what appears to have been an area not far from where Frank Webster also hunted with Alex. In a short period of time, Mr. Deavitt recalled, Mr. Christian shot 3 black bears. Deavitt commented that even though Alex had only one eye, Alex "could see more in a minute than I could see in an hour" (Webber 1973:90-91).

Brilliant

While this former Native village site, located on the north side of the confluence of the Kootenay River with the Columbia, has been associated ethnographically with both the Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) and the Kutenai, most sources — and the most authoritative sources — identify the settlement as a *sngaytskstx* one.

The village site at Brilliant (see Figure 21) was well known to Okanagan-Colville speakers as *kp'ítl'els*. Variant transcriptions of the term *kp'ítl'els* have been provided by numerous sources over the past 100 years, including the following: "*kapeetles*" (Sproat 1897); "*kɛpitɬes*" (Teit n.d.); "*qɛpi'tɬes*" (Teit 1930b:209); "*kpi't'ɬs*" (Elmendorf 1935-36:I:47); "*kupi'tɬks*," 'rubbing the chest' " (Ray 1936b:125), *kp'ítl'els* (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:112); and "*ca-pi-tals*" (Quintasket 1986).

We noted in 1985 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:113) that we considered Ray's translation of *kp'ítl'els*, 'rubbing the chest,' puzzling. But we also noted that our Lakes consultants were not sure of the translation of *kp'ítl'els*, themselves. We would still say the same today, and we still do not believe that Ray's translation is linguistically supportable. Mary Marchand on one occasion stated that she thought the meaning of *kp'ítl'els* was related to the 'end of a mountain range,' but she was not certain of this. Charley Quintasket believed that the word was somehow derived from the Okanagan-Colville term *sp'itl'm*, which refers to bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*).[90]. We note that *sp'itl'm* originates from the term *p'utl'*, which means 'come to an end; completed,' and although we believe that *kp'ítl'els* is derived from *p'utl'*, we are not certain of the entire translation of the term.

Two Kutenai names have been recorded in association with the Kootenay/Columbia confluence. One of them was provided by anthropologist Claude Schaeffer (1935, in Chalfant 1974b:51) who identified "*gatisa*" (without a translation) as the name of a "now extinct" band of Lower Kutenai living "west of Nelson, B.C., near Castlebar [Castlegar], B.C." "*Gatisa*" appears to be a Kutenai pronunciation of the Okanagan-Colville term *gaytskst*, meaning 'bull trout' [formerly, Dolly Varden char], from which the Lakes people's own name for themselves, *sngaytskstx*, is derived. The other Kutenai name has been provided by three sources that we are aware of — all of them recent, and all of them associated with the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council. The term in question is said to be the Kutenai name for Castlegar, translated as 'two rivers meet.' This term appeared initially as "*kiksiɬuk*" (without a translation) (Anon.c.1995), then as "*kiktisuk*" ('two rivers meet') (Coull 1996:103), and most recently as "*ḱiksiɬuk*" (without a translation) (Keefer and McCoy 1999:56).

Alexander Ross appears to have been the first person to record evidence of a settlement at the mouth of the Kootenay River. This was in the spring of 1825. Ross (1855:164-165) referred to "the remains of a deserted Indian camp" here, and described a stone weir which he remarked was

"evidently the work of man, and not destitute of ingenuity," which would have been used in conjunction with a fish trap to catch fish at low water. (As we have previously discussed, Ross' 1821 map had broadly defined the area about the Arrow Lakes as the territory of the "*Sin natch eggs*" [*sngaytskstx*, Lakes]).

As far as we know, the first reference to the ethnic identity of the aboriginal people specifically at the Kootenary/Columbia confluence was made in April 1835. James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company observed a Native camp at the mouth of the Kootenay River, and recorded in his journal entry of April 6th, 1835 that:

> McGillivray's or Coutonais River is about 100 yards at its mouth, and derives its water from the Rocky Mountains. The Coutonais Post is built upon this river, the journey to which occupies about 22 days by water. At this place found a camp of Indians belonging to the Little Chief's Band (Douglas 1835).

The identity of this "Little Chief" as a Lakes man is provided in another source, the 1830-1831 journal of the fur traders at Fort Colville. This journal makes reference to the "Little Chief of the Lakes," and the "little Lake chief" (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831), thus indicating that the people Douglas encountered were Lakes, that is, *sngaytskstx*.

Father P.J. De Smet, reporting on his trip down the Columbia through this region in May 1846, referred to the Native people between the Arrow Lakes and Kettle Falls as "Lake Indians" and noted that they were part of the "Kettle Fall nation," and that their chief was "Gregory." Father De Smet commented that the area where

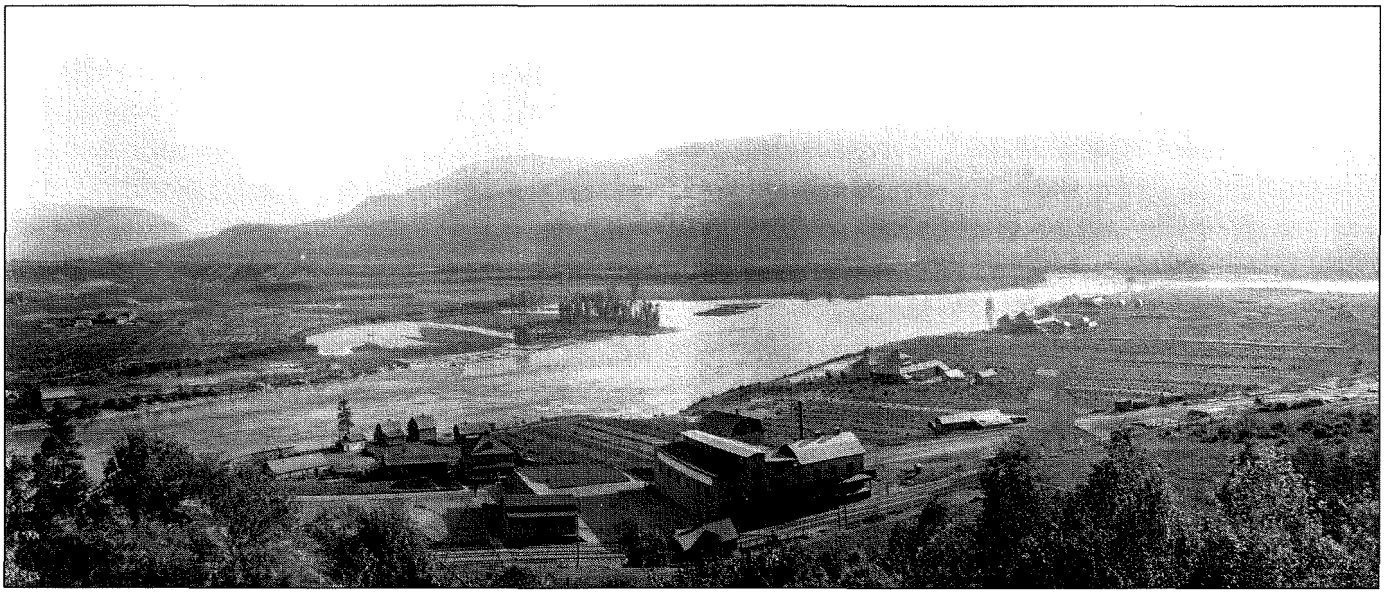


Figure 21. The Doukhobor settlement of Brilliant, at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers, 1924 (composite of British Columbia Archives Negatives No. A-08737 and A-08913). The features of this Doukhobor settlement, as shown from left to right, include: the village of "Kinakin" (along the shoreline); the jam factory and grain elevator (adjacent to railway tracks); the village of "Trubitskoff" (set back from the shoreline); the village of "Popoff" (along the shoreline); and one other Doukhobor village, along the shoreline (name not known).

the "McGilvray or Flatbow [Kootenay] River" meets the Columbia "presents a beautiful situation for the establishment of a future reduction or mission." He added that here he had "already marked out a site for the construction of a church" (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:II:548-549). We do not know exactly when it was that Father De Smet actually laid out this church site. But no church was ever built here, as far as we know.

In June 1861, Lieutenant-Colonel J.S. Hawkins of the Northwest Boundary Survey Commission recorded that the "Lake Indians" spent part of each year north of the border, and suggested that these Lakes people where the only Natives in this region of the Columbi:

> the valley of the Columbia north of the Boundary is represented to be very sterile; and it is certain that it has no inhabitants north of the "Lake Indians" who seem to live as much south as north of the 49th parallel, and who share in the proceeds of the Salmon fishery at the Kettle falls near for Colville, so that they must be considered as much American as British subjects. They do not appear to be in the habit of going far above the parallel, excepting for the purposes of hunting (Hawkins 1861).

Magistrate and Gold Commissioner W.G. Cox spent a few days in the vicinity of the Kootenay River mouth and Lower Arrow Lake in September and October of 1861, attempting to defuse local conflicts between Natives and miners in the area. Cox (1861) subsequently wrote a report which contains a number of useful observations about the area and the local Natives.

Cox ascended the Columbia River in September 1861 "in search of the Lake and Kootanais Indians" to arrange for the protection of miners. Prior to beginning this trip up the Columbia, Cox went to Fort Colville on September 19th where he hired a canoe and three Natives (who were very likely Lakes people). On September 25th, he arrived at the mouth of the Kootenay River. Cox camped there for three nights, while despatching two of his aboriginal crew along the trail up the Kootenay River in search of the Kutenai, as Bonnington Falls prevented them from proceeding up the river by canoe. The report that Cox wrote does not indicate that the mouth of the river was occupied during the time Cox was camped there, although he did discover a small patch of potatoes, indicating that someone was making some use of the site. On September 27th, the two Natives who had been despatched up the Kootenay, returned, reporting that they "could not find the Kootonais Indians" (Cox 1861).

On September 28th, Cox (1861) proceeded to the mouth of Lower Arrow Lake, which he noted was called "*smoip*" by the aboriginal people (see the previous discussion of this place). However it appears that he did not encounter any Natives until September 30th, when he met an Indian man and his wife and child in a "bark canoe" (sturgeon-nosed canoe). While Cox did not comment on this man's ethnic affiliation, he identified him as "Paulet" and noted that he knew Paulet's wife from having met her at Fort Kamloops. Paulet reported "the Indians to be very far off and scattered in small hunting & fishing parties." He also told Cox that "a good foot trail exists between the upper Lake and Lake Schuswap — a man heavily packed can make the distance in three days on foot." Cox hired Paulet to:

> take his bark canoe and one of my crew on tomorrow & proceed to the places where the Lake Indians are encamped inform them of my

> presence and great desire to see them (Cox 1861).

Cox indicated that the Lakes people were to meet him near the mouth of the Kootenay, and that he chose this particular site in order to intercept any miners behind him who might otherwise encounter the Kutenai, since the Kutenai were reportedly hostile to miners.

On October 3rd, Cox camped in the area that we believe was not far west from Castlegar, on the south side of the Columbia (see the discussion of Castlegar that follows), to await the Lakes' arrival (Cox 1861). At this camp, Cox recorded on October 5th, 1861 that:

> An Indian named Harry with wife and two children visited our camp. Comes from the Kootanais tribes — left his bark canoe above the Falls [Bonnington Falls, presumably] Presented him with a pair of moccasins and some cariboo fat Reports his tribe to be friendly to the white man . . .arranged with him & wife to proceed tomorrow in search for the Kootanais Chiefs and to inform them of the pleasure I would experience by seeing them (Cox 1861).

Later that same day, October 5th, Cox wrote that "Two more Indians arrived this Evening, they are from the Lakes," and that towards dark, an old Indian man and his wife joined them "from the Lake." Apparently these last two people had met Cox's messengers "many miles distant" (Cox 1861).

On October 7th, 1861, Cox recorded that the "Paulet," who had been hired on September 30th to find the Lakes people, returned, bringing two chiefs. Cox's report stated that:

> 9 o Clock this Evening [October 7th, 1861] Pierre and Paulet returned from the country above the lakes bringing with them two influential Indians to see me — sat down to supper — the names of these Indians are "*Mikichlore*"[91] and "*Qui- qui-las-ket*"" — these men inform me that the Chief Gugoin [?] [Gregoire] is hunting deer & beaver and at too great a distance to be sent for, but that they were chiefs also — and were glad to see me. They were acquainted with my name only (Cox 1861).

The next day, October 8th, Cox and the two Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) chiefs and the other Natives camped with him, all went to where the miners were camped at the mouth of the Kootenay River. Cox addressed both the miners and the Natives, telling them not to bother each other. As part of Cox's address to the miners, he said that:

> The Lake and Kootanais Indians although weak in numerical strength are not to be trifled with — Nine Indians with bows & arrows repulsed eleven whites at the Pend d' Oreilles affair when the latter were armed with rifles and other fire arms (Cox 1861).

Following the meeting, the two Lakes chiefs "got into their boats and left for the Lakes," and the miners left as well. Cox camped overnight at the Kootenay River mouth.

The next day, October 9th, 1861, a delegation of Kutenai Indian people, including "Francois" and "Teneese," arrived at the Kootenay River mouth. Cox wrote that the Kutenai presented him with "some excellent potatoes and dried venison," and remarked that the Kutenai "cultivated potatoes of which those presented are a sample."

Cox gave the Kutenai the same message as he had given the *sngaytskstx*. The Kutenai asked Cox to camp there one more night, and "recommended no man exploring the Kootanais River until all their young men were acquainted with the object of my visit."

The following morning, October 10th, Cox recorded that:

> This morning Francois requested of me to Secure for his tribe a small piece of land — the North point at mouth of the Kootanais River — I did so by placing notices on it and also along the banks of the Columbia River in the immediate neighbourhood of same, warning all persons not to tresspass [sic] or encamp thereon it being an Indian Reserve until instructions to the contrary from the Government — bid farewell to the Indians and left (Cox 1861).

We do not know just how large an area was set aside here at this time, as we have never found any indication that further steps were taken to register this site as an Indian Reserve, other than through the posting of notices on the ground.

Earlier ethnohistoric evidence (as well as substantial ethnographic evidence) identified this site as a Lakes settlement. While it was a Kutenai Chief who asked for the land to be set aside, information recorded shortly *after* Cox was at the mouth of the Kootenay also indicates that the site was utilized by the *sngaytskstx*. Edgar Dewdney, in a June, 1865 report to the Colonial Secretary concerning his investigations into the best route to construct a trail to the mines at Wildhorse Creek in East Kootenay, stated that:

> The point of land at the junction of the Kootenais with the Columbia . . . is a favourite place of resort with the Indians, and at times, especially in the winter, a number of families remain there (Dewdney 1865b).

While this passage does not identify the tribal affiliation of the Native people at the site, another passage in the same report does. In it, Dewdney made reference to local information "mentioned to me by Gregoir and several other Indians." Clearly, this is the same "Gregoire" who is identified in many other sources as the well-known Chief of the Lakes.[92] Dewdney subsequently associated Gregoire even more explicitly with the site at the mouth of the Kootenay in detailed recollections recorded years later concerning his work on the trail. He indicated that when his party came through a valley to Lower Arrow Lake:

> There was no life visible at the point we struck it, but we knew then that Fort Sheppard was to the south of us, the only point as far as we knew that we could get a canoe to take us down the river. We started a couple of our Indians for Fort Sheppard, not knowing whether it was feasible or not, and awaited patiently their return. They struck an Indian village opposite the mouth of the Kootenais River, and hired a canoe from Gregoire, the celebrated Indian chief of that part, and came up for us (Gosnell 1908:9).

In these same memoirs, Dewdney indicated that on the return trip in June:

> I made old Gregoire's village again that night after again running the rapids of the Kootenay, spent the night in his village, and took a canoe from him, leaving at daylight and

> arriving at Fort Sheppard before any were out of bed (Gosnell 1908:13).

Dewdney thus made a firm identification of the village at the mouth of the Kootenay as the village of Chief Gregoire, and thus as a *sngaytskstx* village.

In his June 1865 report, Dewdney stated he had reserved the land at the mouth of the Kootenay River as a town site, and that he had posted notices to this effect one mile up the Columbia and one mile up the Kootenay (Dewdney 1865b). Thus it appears that both Cox and Dewdney had reserved portions of the same area at the Kootenay River mouth, for different purposes, within only four years of each other. We do not know if Dewdney was aware of the fact that Cox had previously posted this same area as an Indian Reserve.

In August 1865, two months after Dewdney wrote his original report, James Turnbull also made another identification of the *sngaytskstx* at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers by identifying their Chief. Turnbull stated that "all the Indians including the Chief of the tribe (Gregoire), were either at the mouth of the Kootenay River or Fort Shepherd" (Turnbull 1866:27), thus providing a clear identification of this site with the Lakes.

The ethnohistoric evidence of Kutenai affiliation with the mouth of the Kootenay River consists, ultimately, of the fact that the Kutenai chief Francois *asked* for the site to be granted as a Reserve. This request was made in the absence of the *sngaytskstx*, who had left the previous day. Cox's decision to create the Reserve was undoubtedly based on his belief that the Kutenai must have had some affiliation with the land, because they requested that it be made a Reserve. Notwithstanding, the ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence known to us does not support this proposition. It is our opinion, given the extensive evidence of both earlier and subsequent Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) occupancy of the area at the confluence of the Kootenay and the Columbia, that the Kutenai request was not based on traditional use and occupancy, but on a desire to take advantage of this site's strategic location.[93]

The change in Lakes settlement patterns that occurred between the 1830s-1870s clearly reduced the subsequent number of ethnohistoric references to the resident Natives. Indian Agent Robert Galbraith recalled his experience, beginning in the early 1870s, trying to determine the ethnic identity of the original aboriginal occupants of the area. Galbraith in 1914 told members of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs that:

> None of my predecessors or even the high officials knew when the Reserves were allotted that there were any Indians in that locality with claims for lands. In the early days many of the Colville Indians had been in the habit of ascending the Columbia river to fish and hunt. In 1871 I found a small band of Gregoire Indians in this District. I went over there in an electioneering tour but found that they had drifted south of the line, and I heard no more of them. I spoke to Mr. Phillips, who was then Agent over there but he knew nothing about them . . . (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:84).

Galbraith thus identified the aboriginal people whom he had found on this part of the Columbia as Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) people, through his reference to them as "Colville" and through his identification of Gregoire, the well-known Lakes chief. Galbraith also indicated that the Lakes no

longer lived permanently in the area after 1871, that they were not known to the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada, and that by 1871 Canadian officials believed that the Lakes were American Indians (Galbraith 1914:84). Indeed, by the early 1880s, a note in the midst of the 1881 Kootenay Indian census made by the census officer, J.W. McKay, would state that "a few Salish from Colvile and Saushwaps [Shuswaps] from the Thompsons have settled in the Kootenay Valley and merged into the Kootenay Tribe and are properly enumerated with the Kootenays" (Canada Census 1881).[94] Accordingly, eighteen "Colville" people were listed in the 1881 census of Kootenay (Canada Census 1881). It is very likely these "Colvilles" were actually Lakes people, although we are not aware of any evidence that they "merged into the Kootenay Tribe." More likely these "Colvilles" were the Lakes people who were, circa 1881, continuing to use the Arrow Lakes, Columbia River, Kootenay River/Columbia confluence and Kootenay River regions.

Robert Sanderson observed in 1886 that what he termed "Colville" Indians used the area at the mouth of the Kootenay to pasture their horses, and had a very strong affiliation with the land there. He was part of a work party that was cutting hay on the Columbia River at the mouth of the Kootenay.[95] He recalled nine years later that:

> while we were working there a number of Colville Indians came up the river from a reservation and brought a band of 40 or 50 horses. They turned the horses loose and they came on to the meadows where we were cutting the hay. We drove them away twice. The head man of the band called on us and objected, saying that the Indians owned all that country, that we must not drive all their stock away as they brought their horses up there to pasture. We told them they were Colville Indians, and that we had authority from the Government Agent to cut the hay. The next day while we were absent the Indians gathered and had a horse race on part of the meadow where the hay had not been cut, destroying it. One of our men returned alone and expostulated with them and they made threats of trouble. The remainder of the time we had to watch the ground night and day, and keep the horses driven off (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

Further ethnohistoric identification of the indigenous people who lived at the mouth of the Kootenay River was provided by Gilbert Malcolm Sproat in 1897. Sproat, the former Indian Reserve Commissioner, had retired to the Robson area (across from what is Castlegar today) and was living at what was then known as Sproat's Landing. He identified the settlement here as "*kapeetles*" [*kp'ítl'els*], and described it as a permanent settlement (Sproat 1897). As far as we know, Sproat is the first person to have recorded a transcription of the Native name for the area at the mouth of the Kootenay River. We consider it very significant that Sproat, whose background made him a knowledgeable observer of aboriginal life, identified this Native village by the name repeatedly elicited from the *sngaytskstx* to describe the place.

While the ethnohistoric information shows a strong affiliation of the *sngaytskstx* with the area around the mouth of the Kootenay River, the recorded ethnographic information is even more forceful in indicating that the mouth of the Kootenay River was a Lakes settlement. We are aware, nevertheless, of two references in the Kutenai ethnographies associating the Kutenai

with a settlement in this vicinity. Turney-High's Kutenai consultants told him a story about the "southern tip of Arrow Lake formerly being inhabited by the descendants of two Kutenai brothers and *s'mɪlk$_a$min* [Similkameen] wives at a relatively recent date" (Turney-High 1941:24). (The Native term transcribed by Turney-High is *smlk̲amín*, in recent times a group of Okanagan-Colville speaking people.) Claude Schaeffer recorded, from an Upper Kutenai source, the term "*gatisa*" (without a translation) as the name of a "now extinct" band of Lower Kutenai living "west of Nelson, B.C., near Castlebar [Castlegar], B.C." "*Gatisa*" appears to be a Kutenai pronunciation of the Okanagan-Colville term *gaytskst*, meaning 'bull trout' [formerly, Dolly varden], from which the Lakes people's own name for themselves, *sngaytskstx*, is derived.[96]

Ethnographer James Teit, as we have previously noted, undertook fieldwork with Lakes people at the mouth of the Kootenay River in 1909. He spent four days eliciting information from the Christian family who lived at the site, Teit firmly and unequivocally identified these people as Lakes (Teit n.d.; 1908-1920; 1910; 1910-1913; 1914). Teit identified eleven people who in May 1909 were then members of what he called the "Kootenay mouth band" of the Lakes:

> The Kootenay mouth people say emphatically that the Arrow Lake band are their own kin and speak the exact same language as themselves.[97] They have intermarried from time to time with Shuswap and in a less degree with Kootenay. At the present time the Arrow Lake band is made up of some 24 who may be called Lakes and one Shuswap (from Spallumcheen) and one Kootenay (from Kootenay Lake) both women married there making about 26 altogether. They were all mentioned by name to me & some of them are cousins & other relatives to the Kootenay mouth band (the latter number 11—10 Lakes and 1 Thomson) (Teit 1908-1920).[98]

Teit's information thus indicated that the Lakes people at the mouth of the Kootenay *had* intermarried.[99] However, Teit's data also indicated that the people living at the Kootenay/Columbia confluence, notwithstanding intermarriage with the Kutenai or any other group, still considered themselves to be *Lakes*.[100]

According to Teit, this Kootenay mouth settlement was one of the "important old headquarters" of the Lakes people (Teit 1910-1913). Elsewhere, Teit (1907- 1910) noted that this Kootenay mouth site was the Lakes' "main camp." Teit also commented on archaeological evidence that this settlement had existed for a very long time, noting the existence of very old pithouse locations. Teit said that he had:

> Visited some [pithouses] pointed out by Indians near mouth of Kootenay River. Only one or two of these looked like they had been dug out (to depth of 4 to 6 feet) but no trace of raised rims only very slight of one. Trees growing in all and no doubt very old (Teit n.d.).

Teit also noted other signs of the settlement's age. He recorded that:

> A great many people lived here formerly, most of them on the north bank of the Kootenai, within sight of the Columbia. Some old and modern burial grounds may be seen in the neighbourhood (Teit 1930b:209).[101]

Teit provided no further information about the location of these old burial grounds.

Teit *did* record that the Kutenai came to this site occasionally, but not that they lived there. He was told that the Kutenai occasionally came to the mouth of the Kootenay River, to buy salmon from the Lakes. He said that after the "wars" between the Lakes and the Kutenai (which appear to have taken place shortly after 1800), the Kutenai would "sometimes" come to the mouth of the Kootenay River "to buy salmon." He added they would "stay couple of weeks eat much & go back" (Teit n.d.). Teit's information thus suggests that the Kutenai who came to the mouth of the Kootenay River did so as guests of the Lakes, who were the regular users of the site.

Verne Ray also mentioned that "*kupi'tɬks*" was a place where Natives met — he identified "*kupi'tɬks*" as a Lakes Indian settlement located "at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers," noted that it was used "as a temporary base for root digging," and added that:

> Travellers coming or going from the Kootenay or upper Columbia river valleys usually camped here for a week or two, visiting and gambling with friends and using the sweat houses. To a limited extent it also served as a hunting base (Ray 1936b:125).

The recollections of a Castlegar non-Indian pioneer, Ross DeFoe, suggest that in the early 1900s, Lower Kutenai people from Creston would occasionally come to the Brilliant site and meet with the Natives living there. Mr. DeFoe recalled in 1964 that when he first came to Castlegar in 1909, there were a "bunch of Indians camped there [at the Brilliant site]" and that "every once in a while Indians [Lower Kutenai] would come in from Creston and they'd get down and meet with these [Indians at the Brilliant site]" (DeFoe 1964).

Elmendorf's Lakes consultant, Nancy Wynecoop, also referred to "*kpi't'ɬls*" (Elmendorf 1935-36:I:47).[102] Mrs. Wynecoop mentioned "*kpi't'ɬls*" in the context of a story which demonstrated the Lakes' preference for modesty in speech.[103]

Important information about the traditional Native use of this site was given directly by Alex Christian, one of the *sngaytskstx* people who lived there, to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs on June 25th, 1914. Mr. Christian stated:

> I am one of the few survivors of the band of the Lake (S-nai-tcekstet) [*sngaytskstx*] tribe living at the mouth of the Kootenay River. The Lower Kootenay River has been occupied by my people from time immemorial. I have heard that our Indian Agent Mr. Galbraith has said that I have not always been at the mouth of the Kootenay River, and that I have come there lately from parts unknown. I wish to state that I was born there, and have made that place my head quarters during my entire life. Also my ancestors have belonged to there as far back as I can trace. Both my parents were born there and three of my grand parents (A.Christian 1914).

He indicated as well: "I know of four graveyards closest to our houses, and there are older burials I cannot point out. I know that Indians burying their dead there often came on the bones of other dead they had not known" (A.Christian 1914).

Several months earlier, Alex Christian had asked James Teit to bring his plight to the attention of the Government. Teit prepared the following "Statement of Alexander Christian"

which appears in Teit's fieldnotes and is reproduced here in its entirety:[104]

> This letter is written at the request of Indian Alexander Christian of the Lake tribe lately living at the mouth of Kootenay River who has appealed to me to make a statement to you. Whilst engaged in ethnological investigations among the Interior Salish tribes of Eastern Washington, Idaho, and Montana during the summers of 19_ I twice visited the small band of Lake Indians living at the mouth of Kootenay River in B.C. chiefly for the purposes of collecting a comparative vocabulary of their dialect, obtaining detailed information re. the old tribal boundaries of the Lake tribe, former distribution & main headquarters of bands, and other items of importance. During my stay with these people they told me they had no reserve and no security to make improvement there. They had been trying for 14 years to get the piece of land on which they lived set aside to them as a reserve but without success. They said they had brought the matter before Mr Galbraith Ind. Agent several times but nothing had been done. On my return home I wrote to Dr. McDougall who was then acting as a special commissioner investigating matters re. the Indians of B.C. He afterwards went down and saw these Indians and I believe put in a recommendation to Ottawa that they should have a reserve at the spot where they lived. The Ind. Department took the matter up, and it seems after considerable correspondence learning the land on which these Indians lived had been Crown Granted by the B.C. gov. This notwithstanding it was an Ind. settlement which was exempt by legs. [?] etc.[?]. The Ind. Depart. made arrangements to buy some ten acres for the Indians so they might be secured in a home. When I was in Ottawa with the Indian deputation in Jan. 1912. [,] I made inquiry into the matter and was informed everything was practically arranged and they
> [end of page one]
> [Notes in left margin of page one]:
> Crown granted to white
> notwithstand[ing]
> Ind. Settlement there constantly against law
> [begin page 2] the Depart had already been in correspondence with a surveyor in Nelson to have the reserve surveyed and he had answered there was too much snow then but he would make the survey as soon as conditions permitted. (This letter was shown me) Later I received a letter from Alexander Christian stating the Indians were to be removed and the land they are on had been sold to the Doukabours who had warned them off. I wrote him to go and see the Indian Agent which I believe he did. I gave him a letter explaining what I know of the case. When Mr. McKenna visited the Inds. at Sp[ences] Bdge [Bridge] in 1912 I brought this matter to his notice. Afterwards Alex Christian wrote me saying the Doukabours had threatened to kick him out & later to the effect

that by orders of the Indian Agent he had been forced to leave [,] that his buildings had been valued at $100 by the agent & that the Doukabours being now in possession he was without a home in his own country. He considered this valuation of his buildings too low, and that the loss of the home and ground on which his people have lived time out of mind, and where all his nearest relatives are buried should be worth more than this even from a Whiteman's point of view. He wants the graves of his people fenced off and protected. He asks damages for his loss and a small reserve laid out for himself and friends somewhere within the country of his band where they may have a headquarters and also be able to raise some garden stuff and fruit. [end of page two] [Note in lower right-hand corner of page two]: put in date Oct/ 13 to letter [Notes in left-hand margin of page two]: Garden, buildings and fruit trees in 1909 ? & in 1910 & 1912. population lived by trapping, fishing [,] selling berries to whites & working in woods [?] & railways [?]. Sketch of territory, pop., villages of tribe, migration to States, Burton City reserve date. Relatives to Colville Treated as strangers by Gov. officials. [begin page 3] In 1909 & 1910 the band at Kɛpi´tłes [*kp'ítl'els*], or mouth of Kootenay River consisted of Babtiste Christian Chief. Sophie his wife [,] Paschal alias Oscar his son. Agnes his daughter. Alexander Christian his brother [,]Theresa wife of latter. George and Julie children. Mary Christian sister of Babtiste and Alexander [,] Frank Abbott alias Nłaúxa her husband and Antoinette Tsalstélks mother of Babtiste etc. an aged woman. Christian her husband died about 1897 and is buried there. This was all left of what in early times had been a fairly numerous band. These people clung tenaciously to their original home and would not leave without obtaining compensation or a reserve. In 1912 when I visited them only Alexander Christian & wife and mother were there. Mary had died, her husband had gone back to his people & Babtiste & family had gone to live temporarily in the States. In 1909 and 1910 their buildings consisted 2 two roomed houses of lumber & logs & a two or three sheds. They had a small garden fenced in and a few fruit trees set out. In 1912 Alexander Christian was living in a newly built house of two rooms and the other buildings, or most of them, had disappeared. During these times I have known them these people earned a living by trapping, fishing, selling berries to Whites at Nelson, Trail etc. and working for Whitemen at various kinds of work. Many Whites including B.C. Gov. officials between 1860 and 1900 set up a claim that the Indians by West Kootenay viz the Lake tribe had no rights in B.C. not being regular inhabitants of the Province That they were interlopers from the States (Colville Reservation) that came into B.C. only to hunt & fish & pick berries. In consequence these Indians were restricted in their

liberties in B.C. and at several times were thrown out of the neighborhood of Revelstoke & other places where they were hunting and fishing. Owing to this ill treatment & [end of page three]
[begin page 4] The fact that no reserves had been set aside for them gradually many of them drifted across to the States where they were welcomed and given lands on the Colville Reservation. In the census Colville Reserve 19__ [,] 300 Lakes are recorded as resident there. In 19__ the Canadian gov. recognised the right of these people in B.C. by having a small reserve set aside for the remnants of the band living around Nakusp & Burton City. And some 30 Indians live there now [.]These and the people lately at mouth of Kootenay are all in B.C. of this once numerous tribe. In reality the Lakes are a B.C. tribe only a very little of their old tribal territory extended into the States. They are closely related to the Colville or Chaudiere tribe immediately S of them and speak the same dialect which belongs to the Okanagon group of Interior Salish. Abt 1850 they occupied at least 28 main camps inside of B.C. along Columbia River & Arrow Lakes from the Boundary Line up to Revelstoke, Kootenay River up to a little above Nelson, & in the Slocan, and Trout Lake districts etc. These camps (in some cases they may be called villages) had each a [?] number of families made their head quarters, some having many more people than others. They themselves & all the tribes bordering them claim the tribe has occupied the [?] [this?] country from time immemorial & there is no signs of their having arrived in the country at any later date than other tribes, and everything points to their long occupancy. [signed] J.A. Teit [end of document] (Teit n.d.).

There was no equivocation in Mr. Christian's statements about his identity, and the identity of the other people who lived at the mouth of the Kootenay, just as there was no equivocation in the information recorded by Teit from other members of the Christian family. They all identified themselves as *sngaytskstx*, Lakes. In making our identification of the people at the Kootenay mouth as *sngaytskstx*, we consider these data to be exceptionally strong, as they are forceful, unambiguous, and come from the most authoritative source — the specific aboriginal people involved themselves.[105]

Notwithstanding Alex Christian's clear statement about the ethnic affiliation of the people living at the Brilliant site, the Royal Commission subsequently and incorrectly identified the people living there as "a small group of the Kootenay Tribe" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1916:II:359).[106] The reason for this misidentification is uncertain. We have found no statements by any Lower Kutenai Natives claiming that Kutenai people lived at this site, or requesting the site as a Reserve, in the transcripts of evidence or the Royal Commission's files. Indian Agent Galbraith, in his oral evidence to the Commission, told a long and tangled account of the history of the Christian family and the other Arrow Lake Band members, but he did not identify them as Lower Kutenai either. Galbraith's (1914:84-86) account seems to identify them as

originally "Colville" Indians from the United States, while in earlier correspondence he had variously identified them as Shuswap and Kutenai.

The Lakes consultants we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s identified *kp'ítl'els*, the site at the Kootenay River mouth, as having been an important place to the *sngaytskstx*. These consultants also knew the names of the specific Lakes people associated with this place: they recalled that Baptiste Christian, who they remembered also by his Indian name, *pa7pa7tságsk̲n*, lived here at different times; others they knew who lived here included Alex Christian, Baptiste's brother, whose Indian name they indicated was *pk̲ek̲el̓áwna7*; Alex and Baptiste's sister, Marianne [referred to by Teit (n.d.) as "Mary"]; and their mother, who they remembered as *antuní*. This latter name, *antuní*, is a Native pronunciation of "Antoinette," the English name of the woman whom Teit (n.d.) referred to as Antoinette Christian. Julia Quintasket recalled *antuní* telling her the story of how she got "beat out" of her land at *kp'ítl'els*. Mary Marchand also recalled that the "Louie family" also used to live at *kp'ítl'els* or "somewhere around *kp'ítl'els*" — other information that Mary Marchand provided made it clear that she was referring to Louie Joseph, who was very well known around Burton (see our previous discussions of Louie Joseph). Both Mary Marchand and Julia Quintasket referred to a man who lived "somewhere around *kp'ítl'els*," who they recalled only by his Indian name, *skalaswá*. Additional information provided by Mary Marchand indicates that this person was Frank Joseph, the brother of Louie Joseph. Mary Marchand also remembered "Ann" [Annie] Joseph, who had been married to one of these two brothers, but after he and her sons died had moved to Vernon and married a man named Parker.[107]

Mary Marchand also recalled being told that there was a graveyard at *kp'ítl'els* and that her mother had gone to the funerals of Baptiste and Alec's sister, Marianne, here.[108] As well, Mrs. Marchand remembered that when she was a young girl, she got to know *antuní* (Antoinette, the mother of Marianne, Baptiste, and Alec) when *antuní* used to visit Mary Marchand's parents.

The presence of these Natives at the Kootenay River mouth and in Castlegar was documented by a number of sources in the early 1900s. Kootenay Indian Agent R.L.T. Galbraith encountered the Christian family in this area by chance in 1901. He later stated that:

> ...the fact of their being on the Columbia River did not crop up until Mr. Bullock-Webster of the Provincial Police notified me as Agent of the finding of the body of an old Indian on the railway track near Castlegar, and upon making investigation I found a small band of Indians camped on the Kootenay River near West Robson. There were in this band the families of [Baptiste] Christian, Alex Christie and one other (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:84-85).[109]

In 1902, Galbraith referred to "Baptiste Christian of Castlegar" and recorded that he was "squatting on a piece of land on the west side of the Columbia River at a place now known as Castlegar" (Galbraith 1902a; 1902d). Over the next several years, Baptiste Christian conducted a regular correspondence with Agent Galbraith.[110] In June 1907, when informed that "the little band of Indians who are squatting near the mouth of the Kootenay River" were allegedly causing some trouble, Galbraith suggested that their Chief, Baptiste Christian, should be sent for and

instructed to make his people obey the law (Galbraith 1907a).[111]

Apparently Baptiste Christian in the early 1900s was spending part of his time in the Brilliant/Castlegar area, and part of his time at Marcus (near Kettle Falls, Washington). It was noted in March 1911 that the burial at Brilliant of Baptiste's sister, Marianne, was delayed pending "the arrival of her brother Baptiste who is in charge of a ranch at Marcus, Washington" (*Nelson Daily News* 1911).

Alexander Christian,[112] Baptiste's younger brother, was well-known and well-liked around the Castlegar and Trail areas. He was recalled, usually, as "Alex the Indian" or "Indian Alex," by several pioneer residents. Alex Christian was known to have fished, hunted and trapped throughout this region, from approximately the turn of the century until the 1920s, and was known to have cabins or smokehouse at several sites, including: a place across from what is today the pulp mill (upriver from Castlegar); at the confluence of the Kootenay and the Columbia; in Castlegar, itself, near the north end of town; at Waterloo Eddy on the east side of the Columbia, about 4 miles (approximately 6 Km) south of Castlegar; and a trapping camp along Blueberry Creek, on the west side of the Columbia River approximately 5 miles (8 Km) south of Castlegar (DeFoe 1964; Webber 1973:86-88; Killough 1983; Webster 1999).

Information given by unspecified members[113] of the Kootenay mouth Native community to Indian Agent Galbraith in 1910 also emphasized the Lakes' tenure at this place. Galbraith stated that:

> The little band of Indians with Chief Baptiste Christian, number about ten souls, and they have told me that they and their forefathers have occupied the ground for years, and have made it their headquarters, as a fishing, hunting and camping place. They have two or three dwellings, a couple of little gardens, three graveyards, out East and West of the houses (Galbraith 1910a).

Abraham Hirst, Justice of the Peace at Syringa Creek, also associated the "Christie" (Christian) family with the mouth of the Kootenay. In June 1914 he gave a sworn statement indicating that he had known "Alec Christie" of Castlegar for ten years, and stated:

> That I knew his father and his mother, sister and brother, Baptiste. That I can state that until the Doukhobours obtained possession of the land at the mouth of the Kootenay, the said Alec, his father, mother, brother and sister have been in undisturbed possession of the land at the mouth of the Kootenay.[114]
>
> That I know that a number of graves of Indians are located on and near the mouth of the Kootenay.
>
> That I believe the Indians have lived on this land for hundreds of years. That Alec's mother was, according to Alec's statement, was [sic] born at Castlegar at the mouth of the Kootenay and that his father is buried down at the mouth of the Kootenay (Hirst 1914b).

In 1910, Reverend John McDougall, writing a letter on behalf of the Kootenay mouth people's request for an Indian Reserve, also stated that "they have occupied this part from time immemorial, the graves of their ancestors as also

of their own families are here..." (McDougall 1910).

Among the non-Indian pioneers from the Castlegar area who remembered the Natives in this area was Ross DeFoe. He recalled in 1964 that when he first came to Castlegar in 1909, there were a "bunch of Indians camped there [at the Brilliant site]" and that "there used to be an Indian Reserve down in there" (see the discussion that follows). Mr. DeFoe also recalled that "every once in a while Indians [Lower Kutenai] would come in from Creston and they'd get down and meet with these [at the Brilliant site]." As well, DeFoe stated there were "a few Indians" on the south side of the Kootenay mouth (DeFoe 1964) (see also the discussion of Ootischenia that follows).

DeFoe did not identify these Natives at the Kootenay/Columbia confluence, but another non-Native "old-timer," Joseph Killough, did. He recalled in 1983 that the aboriginal people who lived here were "Salish" and nomadic, and that by about 1920, they had "petered down to just a very few and they moved south and joined up with the Colville Band" (Killough 1983). (This information is consistent with other recorded data which identifies these Natives as *sngaytskstx* people.) Owen Wheeler, who ran a store at Westley (west from Castlegar), well recalled the "local Lakes Indians" who lived at this site around 1908. His account, related by a local historian, stated that:

> The Lake Indians were regular callers at the Westley store. One family in particular, that made their summer home at Brilliant, near the confluence of the Kootenay and the Columbia Rivers, used to bring bear meat, birds and fish to Mr. Wheeler. He remembers them as being most friendly (Webber 1973:56).

The reference is very likely to the Christian family, who would be visited by James Teit at the same site in May 1909 (Teit n.d.; 1908-1920). As we have seen, these people identified themselves as Lakes.

Following the discovery of aboriginal graves at Brilliant in 1952, an article appeared in a Nelson newspaper which stated that:

> Older members of the community recall in the early days before the First World War, fairly large numbers of rather primitive Indians, some of whom lived in crude cabins all year round, others who came at certain times of the year, built wigwams and fished in the Kootenay or hunted in the mountains . . . As the years passed the expeditions grew less frequent and smaller numbers of Indians arrived, until now all that remain are the many long-forgotten graves which dot the entire area (*Nelson Daily News* 1952).

Later in 1952, a shack supposed to have been built by the aboriginal people who once lived at the Brilliant site was reported by a local historian to be still standing. This person noted that:

> There is still a shack supposed to have been built and used by the Indians, in the last village at Brilliant near the junction, with boards put up vertically (as the Indians built) instead of horizontally as the white man builds today (*Castlegar Historical Review* 1952).

The Proposed Indian Reserve at Brilliant

The first attempt to set aside an Indian Reserve at Brilliant was made on October 10th, 1861 by Magistrate and Gold Commissioner W.G. Cox, who reported that he posted notices on "a

small piece of land — the North point at mouth of the Kootanais River — . . . and also along the banks of the Columbia River in the immediate neighbourhood of same." Cox said these notices warned people not to trespass or camp here, "it being an Indian Reserve until instructions to the contrary from the Government" (Cox 1861). But as we have noted, we do not know just how large an area was set aside here at this time, as we have never found any indication that further steps were taken to register this site as an Indian Reserve, other than through the posting of notices on the ground.

The Native village site at Brilliant was part of the 198-acre parcel of land on the north side of the Kootenay/Columbia confluence that was identified as "District Lot 9, Group 1, Kootenay Land District." John Carmichael Haynes first applied to purchase this parcel of land in April 1883; it was surveyed for him on October 18th, 1884 (Patterson 1884), and Crown-granted to Haynes on December 17th, 1884 (British Columbia 1884: Crown Grant No. 308). A detailed plan for a town to be known as "Haynesville" was surveyed in 1886 (Haynesville 1886) but this town was never built, likely due to Haynes' death in July 1888 (Haynes 1887-1913). As we will discuss, it was a portion of this land parcel that was again sought as an Indian Reserve beginning around 1900. Even though the 198-acre land parcel had been Crown-granted since 1884, the Christian family continued to live here. However, it appears that direct conflicts as a result of the Christian family continuing to live here only escalated seriously after trustees of Haynes' estate eventually sold Lot 9 to Peter Verigin of Brilliant in May 1912 (British Columbia 1912).

Indian Reserves were first set aside in this general region in 1884, (as we discuss in Section 6.0 of the present report). At that time, Reserves were established for both the Upper Kutenai and the Lower Kutenai, but as Kootenay Indian Agent R.L.T. Galbraith would point out many years later, Indian Affairs offficials were, apparently, not aware in the 1870s-1880s that there were "any Indians in that locality [the Columbia River/ Arrow Lakes area] with claims for lands" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:84).[115]

According to Galbraith, the Native presence in the area of the Kootenay/Columbia confluence did not come directly to the attention of Indian Affairs officials until 1901. That year, Galbraith was contacted by the Provincial Police concerning the body of an elderly Native man found near Castlegar. Galbraith recalled that upon making an investigation, he "found a small band of Indians camped on the Kootenay River near West Robson." This group was comprised, Galbraith stated, of the families of Baptiste Christian, Alex "Christie" [Christian], and one other (Galbraith 1914).

After this 1901 incident, Galbraith visited this area, and by October 1902, an Indian Reserve had been established at Oatscott for the Arrow Lake Indian Band (as we have already discussed). The Christian family at the Kootenay/Columbia confluence was considered to be part of this Arrow Lake Band, and it was expected they would join the others at Oatscott. Indeed, Galbraith stated on April 30th, 1902 that Baptiste Christian "expressed willingness" to go to the Oatscott Reserve (Galbraith 1902a). This is surprising, considering the statement made to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs on June 25th, 1914, by Baptiste's brother, Alexander Christian. Alex said that he, his father, Christian (who had died in the late 1890s), and his brother, Baptiste had been speaking to the Indian Department "for about sixteen years" (i.e. since about 1898), asking that an Indian Reserve be set aside for them at their "old home" at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia. Alex

Christian's claim that his people were "promised a reserve" here (Christian 1914) is supported by the existing documentation.

Beginning in 1902 and continuing for years, Baptiste Christian conducted a regular correspondence with Agent Galbraith, who recognized him as chief of the group of Natives at the Kootenay/Columbia confluence. Among the subjects discussed was that of a proposed Indian Reserve at Brilliant.

It seems clear that Baptiste Christian did not really want to live at Oatscott, and in fact there was a split between his family and the other families at Oatscott. Galbraith wrote a letter to Baptiste Christian on June 24th, 1908 in which he expressed his regrets that Baptiste "could not get along with the Indians at Arrow Lake." Although the copy of this letter is very poor, it appears that Galbraith stated that he knew of "no vacant land " that was available for purchase in the vicinity of Castlegar (Galbraith 1908a). On October 31st, 1908, Galbraith told Indian Superintendent Vowell that he had visited "the Arrow Lake Band of Indians at Castlegar and Burton" (Galbraith 1908d) — this raises the question of just how much time (if at all) Baptiste Christian, or any of his family, actually spent living on the Indian Reserve at Oatscott. Galbraith wrote again to Baptiste Christian, at Castlegar, on December 10th, 1908 and told him to "go to the Indian Reserve [at Oatscott] and make yourself a house" (Galbraith 1908g). But it appears that Baptiste Christian did not take Galbraith's advice.

In 1909, James Teit spent several days with the Christian family at Brilliant. He recorded not only their ethnographic information about the Lakes people, but also their concerns about not having a Reserve set aside for them at Brilliant. Details of this Reserve issue were recorded as part of the "Statement of Alexander Christian" that Teit wrote:

...During my stay with these people they [the Christian family at Brilliant] told me they had no reserve and no security to make improvement there. They had been trying for 14 years to get the piece of land on which they lived set aside to them as a reserve but without success. They said they had brought the matter before Mr Galbraith Ind. Agent several times but nothing had been done. On my return home I wrote to Dr. McDougall who was then acting as a special commissioner investigating matters re. the Indians of B.C. He afterwards went down and saw these Indians and I believe put in a recommendation to Ottawa that they should have a reserve at the spot where they lived. The Ind. Department took the matter up, and it seems after considerable correspondence learning the land on which these Indians lived had been Crown Granted by the B.C. gov. This notwithstanding it was an Ind. settlement which was exempt by legs. [?] etc.[?]. The Ind. Depart. made arrangements to buy some ten acres for the Indians so they might be secured in a home. When I was in Ottawa with the Indian deputation in Jan. 1912. [,] I made inquiry into the matter and was informed everything was practically arranged and they
[end of page one]
[Notes in left margin of page one]:
Crown granted to white
notwithstand[ing]
Ind. Settlement there constantly
against law
[begin page 2] the Depart had already

> been in correspondence with a surveyor in Nelson to have the reserve surveyed and he had answered there was too much snow then but he would make the survey as soon as conditions permitted. (This letter was shown me) ...(Teit n.d.).[116]

The matter of establishing an Indian Reserve at Brilliant obtained a new impetus on January 8th, 1910, when Reverend John McDougall wrote the following letter to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa:

> There are, in the Kootenay district at the mouth of the Kootenay river, in residence a small number of Indians. These have occupied this part from time immemorial, the graves of their ancestors as also of their own families are here, and, while this is not a reserve yet these people have long established rights on this ground and they ask that you will, if possible, secure for them a small portion of land twelve or fifteen acres, or more, including their dwellings and grave-yards etc. The block of land, as surveyed, on which these people are living is No. 9 and entitled "reserve" and is immediately on the North Bank of the Kootenay river near its confluence with the Columbia. I am voicing the earnest wish of these people, as also the Indian Agent for the district, as also the thought of every fair minded man in British Columbia cognizant of the facts in the case (McDougall 1910).

This letter prompted an immediate response from the Assistant Secretary to the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs — on January 11th, 1910 he wrote to A.W. Vowell and asked him to investigate this matter:

> I shall be obliged if you will look into this matter and confer with the Provincial Government if necessary as to granting to this Department sufficient area to include their dwellings, gardens and grave yard, altogether about 15 acres (Stewart 1910).

In response to Stewart's request, Indian Agent Galbraith wrote the following to A.W. Vowell on January 25th, 1910:

> The little band of Indians, with Chief Baptiste Christian, number about ten souls, and they have told me, that they and their forefathers have occupied the area for years, and have made it their headquarters, as a fishing, hunting and camping place. They have two or three dwellings, a couple of little gardens, three graveyards, out East and West of their houses . . .I have inquired from time to time, as to why this land was made a reserve, but no one was able to throw any light on the subject . . .The Indians' Claim to a portion of the reserve, is just, if occupancy for years is considered (Galbraith 1910a).[117]

It seems unusual to us that neither Galbraith nor other Federal officials, nor Provincial officials for that matter, seemed to be aware in the early 1900s that W.G. Cox in 1861 had reserved land at the mouth of the Kootenay, on the north side, as an Indian Reserve (Cox 1861), or that Edgar Dewdney, only four years after Cox, had reserved this same area as a town site (Dewdney 1865b).

And presumably Provincial officials had not been aware of this in 1884, either, when the Province Crown-granted the 198 acres comprising District Lot 9, Group 1 to J.C. Haynes (British Columbia 1884: Crown Grant No. 308). Two years later, this same Crown-granted land had been surveyed as a planned townsite called "Haynesville" (Haynesville 1886), although the proposed development did not go ahead, likely due to Haynes' death in 1888 (Haynes 1887-1913).

Galbraith (1914) told the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs that he tried to obtain 10 acres from the J.C. Haynes estate to be used as an Indian Reserve, because the area on the north side of the Kootenay River mouth was a "favourite fishing grounds" of the Indians and they "had their graveyard there." Galbraith stated further that Haynes had taken up the land here about 1880 [in fact, it was 1884] but "the Haynes estate was not in a position to sell." Galbraith testified that he nevertheless obtained a promise that "before they disposed of the whole estate, we [Indian Affairs] would get an opportunity of buying ten acres" (Galbraith 1914).[118]

On February 17th, 1910 Vowell wrote to the Secretary of the Indian Affairs Department in Ottawa to say that he had written to the B.C. Chief Commissioner of Lands in Victoria about this matter, but had been informed by the latter that he could not "at present make any statement as it will have . . .to go before the Executive" (Vowell 1910a). Responding to the Lands Department's position, Vowell requested that they not do anything with the land in the meantime, even if they were not going to act "until the question of the adjustment of the [Indian] reserves generally has been decided upon" (Vowell 1910b). This request was agreed to — the B.C. Chief Commissioner of Lands informed Vowell on February 22nd, 1910 that he was "giving direction that no alienation be made of the piece of land until further direction is given" (Ellison 1910a).

It did not take long for the Lands Department to inform Indian Affairs of their position concerning this land at *kp'itl'els*. Ellison wrote the following to Vowell on March 3rd, 1910:

> With further reference to the desired reservation of the small area of land on the North Bank of the Kootenay River near its junction with the Columbia River known as Lot 9, Gp. 1, I find upon further enquiry that the land in question has been Crown Granted and consequently cannot be devoted to the purposes desired (Ellison 1910b).

J.D. McLean, the Secretary and Assistant Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, was not to be deterred. He wrote to Indian Agent Galbraith on March 16th, 1910, stating that because of McDougall's letter, as well as Galbraith's own report of January 25th 1910, the Indian Affairs Department considered it desirable that the "fifteen or twenty acres where the Indians reside in the said lot should be obtained for them if this can be done for a reasonable sum."[119] McLean stated further:

> The Department is quite aware that it is possible that the Indians have a valid claim on account of long possession. It may, however, be difficult and expensive to establish the claim, it is therefore thought advisable to purchase it if possible ... Please show [on the enclosed blueprint] thereon the boundaries of the land proposed to be purchased...(McLean 1910a).

In his reply to McLean, Galbraith stated on

March 26th, 1910 that he was attempting to find out more about who owned the land in question. He also noted that the land opposite this, on the south side of the Kootenay River mouth, had been purchased by Doukhobor people (Galbraith 1910b). (The Doukhobor presence in the vicinity of the Kootenay River mouth would prove to be a significant factor in the attempts to establish an Indian Reserve at Brilliant.)

According to Galbraith's letter of June 7th, 1910, he was able to find out that there were six heirs to the estate of the late J.C. Haynes, owner of the land in question. Galbraith was further informed that attempts would be made to contact all of these heirs and seek their consent to sell a portion of this land to the Indian Department, for the purposes of an Indian Reserve (Galbraith 1910c).[120] In reply, McLean (1910b) asked Galbraith on June 18th, 1910 to state what would be a reasonable selling price for "a tract of land 15 or 20 acres in Lot No.9 Group 1, at the mouth of the Kootenay River."

On July 2nd, 1910, Galbraith (1910d) told McLean that he had determined "the land in question is a Registered Townsite and the gardens and dwellings of the Indians are on it, also their graveyards, and it [the land] belongs to the estate of the late J.C. Haynes." Galbraith stated further in this letter that "the townsite should be cancelled by an order from the County Court Judge" and then the land could "be put on the market."[121] Galbraith noted that a new survey of the area would have to be done to determine which lots the Indians were utilizing. However, Galbraith was informed that there were no further funds for surveyors available that year, so "the matter will be taken up next year" (McLean 1910c).

The available documentary record we reviewed does not indicate what happened in 1911 concerning the proposed Indian Reserve at Brilliant. However, we do know the following: on April 25th, 1912 and May 13th, 1912, the 198-acre parcel of land known as Lot 9, Group 1 (including the Native village site at Brilliant) was conveyed from the surviving Trustee of the Haynes estate to Haynes' 6 "surviving children and heirs-at-law" (Haynes 1887- 1913); and, on May 20th, 1912, Lot 9 was sold by the Haynes estate heirs to Peter Verigin of Brilliant (British Columbia 1912).

Meanwhile, James Teit (1912a) wrote to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa on May 16th, 1912, enclosing two letters he had received from the Christian family and presenting their case with respect to the land at *kp'itl'els* (the Brilliant site). The first of these letters addressed to Teit was from Alexander Christie [Christian] and was dated May 3rd, 1912:

> The Doukhobors have told me that they have bought the Govt reserve block 9 at the mouth of the Kootenay river this was told to me by Sherbinin agent for the Doukhobor colony could you find out if this is correct Douk said I would [?] have to leave here Agent from Fort Steel told me this was my land now Douks tell me three weeks I get out (A. Christie 1912).

The second letter addressed to Teit was dated May 9th, 1912, and was from Alexander Christian's mother, Antoinette:

> I write to let you know that my land sold one week ago thay Government sold that land hay[they?] never tell me before I was very sorey for that so if hay tell me the frast [first] time ...I was crying every day ...I blend [planted] so mennay [many] gardenns that sommer... (An. Christie 1912).

Galbraith wrote to McLean on July 5th, 1912 and confirmed that in fact this land had been

purchased from the J.C. Haynes estate by the Doukhobors in the spring of 1912 (Galbraith 1912).

Teit presented the Natives' case in his May 16th, 1912 letter to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs:

> I enclose herewith two letters I received yesterday from Indians of the Lake tribe at the mouth of Kootenay River. They represent the Christian family of the tribe who have made their home at this spot from time out of mind . . .They have been appealing for a reserve to be given them at this place for sixteen years, so this sacred piece of ground to them should be made secure . . .When in Ottawa last January [1912] with the deputation of Indian chiefs we visited Ins. Pedley's office, and made inquiry as to what the gov. had done in the matter. Ins. Stewart . . .told us the matter was now arranged that the Indians would receive a small reserve there . . .We understood from Mr. Stewart . . .that the whole matter was settled . . .Now the Indians claim in their letters that the Doukhobor colony have purchased all the land there, and threaten to kick them off in three weeks if they do not leave. I have written to the Indians today telling them to go to the Indian Agent at Fort Steele and ask him to see they get their rights. Thinking they were secure in the land the Indians appear to have put in apple trees, and more gardens than usual this spring. Please be good enough to inform us regarding this matter (Teit 1912a).

The letters of the Christian family and the Teit letter prompted the Chief Surveyor in Ottawa to write a memorandum on May 28th, 1912 to the Deputy Minister, stating "There is no doubt that prompt action is now required to secure this land" (Bray 1912a). Bray went on to say :

> I beg to recommend that Mr. Galbraith be instructed to engage a surveyor to locate and post the lots required for the Indians and to arrange with the present owners for the price at which they may be purchased. In the event of these lots having been already disposed of I think that in view of the fact that the Indians have been long in possession they should not be disturbed if there is any reasonable way possible to prevent it (Bray 1912a).

In response to Bray's suggestion, J.D. McLean, Acting Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, authorized the necessary surveying on June 29th, 1912 (McLean 1912a). In the meantime, Galbraith (1912) reported on July 5th, 1912 that he had visited Castlegar and found out that the land in question had in fact been sold to the Doukhobor people, and they were "most anxious to see the Indians removed." Nevertheless, McLean (1912b) wrote to Teit on July 19th, 1912 and told him that Galbraith was attempting to find out if "a small portion of land may be purchased for these Indians." As well, McLean (1912c) wrote to Galbraith this same day and told him, again, to try and come to an agreement with the new owners, and to have the land re-surveyed. McLean added:

> It is to be hoped that the owners will understand that as the Indians have long resided on the land the Department will hesitate to take any

> action to remove them. It is therefore expected that the owner will state a reasonable price at which the small portion of land required may be purchased (McLean 1912c).

This matter of attempting to obtain land here for an Indian Reserve at Brilliant was brought directly to the attention of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia. It appears this was first done on August 3rd, 1912 — on that date, McLean (1912d) wrote to Dr. J.A.J. McKenna of the Royal Commission and explained the situation at the Kootenay River mouth to him.

On the 7th of September, 1912, the Doukhobor Society informed Galbraith of its position with respect to selling any of their land for the purposes of an Indian Reserve. The Doukhobors' position was contained in a letter of this date written by J.W. Sherbinin:

> I have took this matter with Mr. Verigin and Society, and they do not wish to sell 5 or 10 acres to the Government for Indians. But they willing so as Indians can stay on the same spot, where they been staying for years, we would not mind if they will have garden two or three acres, as they wish, longer as they will be have [behave] him self, and from our side we will be good neighbours to them . . .(Sherbinin 1912).

It appears that some officials in the Indian Affairs Department sensed there was nothing further they could do, in light of Sherbinin's letter. This seemed clear in Bray's (1912b) memorandum of September 26th, 1912 to the Deputy Minister, and in McLean's (1912e) letter of October 2nd, 1912 to Galbraith. But McLean did suggest that "at some future convenient opportunity," it might be advisable "to again broach the subject of purchase of this land" (McLean 1912e).

The matter was still not over, however — Teit wrote to T.J. Cummisky, the Inspector of Indian Agencies in Vernon, on December 19th, 1912, once again stating the Natives' case:

> . . . Alex Christian from the mouth of Kootenay River writes me that he has been warned off his place there . . .He says the Dukabours are now to have this land although it was promised to the Indians as a Reserve by the Ottawa Govt. (Teit 1912b).

Cummisky wrote immediately to McLean on December 21st 1912:

> My attention is also drawn to another case at the mouth of the Kootenay River. It is said that the Doukabours are to get land which the Indians have been on for years. Have you any advice to give on those questions? . . .If the Indians have been cultivating or occupying those lands from the time mentioned, I would think from the number of Commissioners who had been regulating Indian reserves, that some of them would have dealt with those cases . . .I will await your advice and instructions before I take steps towards a personal investigation (Cummisky 1912).

But it appears that Cummisky never did investigate this matter. The letter that McLean wrote to him on January 15th, 1913 stated the Department's position and informed Cummisky of what had happened to date, yet we have found no correspondence to indicate there was any follow-up by Cummisky. McLean concluded his letter by

saying that the Doukhobors' "permission" for the Indians to continue occupying the land there (as stated in Sherbinin's letter of September 7th, 1912) "is equivalent to a permanent occupation and appears to be the best that the Department can arrange at present." McLean added that although he presumed Galbraith had already informed the Indians they should stay there and act as good neighbours and fence the area surrounding their houses, Cummisky should "again inform them in order that they may quietly occupy the land they now hold" (McLean 1913).

On May 21st, 1914, Mr. A. Hirst, a Justice of the Peace living in Syringa Creek upriver on the Columbia from Castlegar, wrote to Teit on behalf of Alexander Christian. Hirst reported that Christian wanted to travel to Spence's Bridge, where Teit lived, to discuss the matter of his land at the mouth of the Kootenay:

> He [Alexander Christian] is having considerable trouble with the Doukhobors as they are trying to annoy him so he will leave his place at Castlegar, and I regret to say that the Indian Agent at Fort Steele does not seem either willing or able to help him. For this reason he is anxious to come to your meeting and see you (Hirst 1914a).

As is clear in the discussion that follows, Alexander Christian did visit James Teit. This was sometime in June of 1914 (Teit 1914a; A. Christian 1914). Meanwhile, Hirst was sufficiently concerned about this matter to prepare an affidavit in which he supported the Christian family's claim to the land at the mouth of the Kootenay, and repeated Alexander Christian's allegations that Doukhobors were stealing the Christian family's personal possessions and "ploughing up the land over the graves." Hirst's affidavit was dated June 6th, 1914 (Hirst 1914b). (Both in 1985, and again in 1999 we attempted to obtain documentation relating to the Doukhobor people's recollections and/or perceptions of these incidents and allegations involving Native people around the mouth of the Kootenay, but the information we were able to gather was, and is, extremely limited.)

Hirst's affidavit together with a lengthy statement from Alexander Christian dated June 25th, 1914 were submitted by Teit to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, along with a covering letter under his signature dated June 26th, 1914 which read as follows:

> The enclosed statement was made by Alex Christie or Christian from mouth of Kootenay or Castlegar, who came here at considerable expense to himself and asked me to write down his statement and send to the Indian Department. I advised him to send it to you [the Royal Commissioners]. He carried a letter from Abraham Hirst, J.P. which is herewith enclosed. Last year I sent you a statement regarding what I know of the Christie case. I have nothing further to add in the matter (Teit 1914a).[122]

Alexander Christian's June 25th, 1914 document addressed to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs included the following statements:

> I am one of the few survivors of the band of the Lake (S-nai-tcekstet) [*sngaytskstx*] tribe living at the mouth of the Kootenay River. The Lower Kootenay River has been occupied by my people from time immemorial. I have heard that our Indian Agent Mr. Galbraith has said that I have not always been at the mouth of the

Kootenay River, and that I have come there lately from parts unknown. I wish to state that I was born there, and have made that place my head quarters during my entire life. Also my ancestors have belonged to there as far back as I can trace. Both my parents were born there and three of my grand parents . . . I have been advised by Mr. J.A. Teit and other whites to make a statement of my grievances to you in the hope that I may get redress. They say that you have the power to deal with my complaint and will see that I receive justice . . .until last year we have been unmolested in our occupation and use of our old home. Then the Doukhobors sought our land , and we learned they had bought it from a white man or white people who claimed ownership of it. I believe the Government has a law that does not allow any person to locate on or take up land which is an Indian camp or settlement whether reserve or not. Now my place is and always has been an Indian settlement. We have never abandoned it and have continuously occupied it up to the present time. Yet notwithstanding the laws of the Government I am to forced out of my inheritance evidently quite unlawfully. The Doukhobors [illegible] take possession of our lands but we refused [illegible] our houses and warned them against tampering with [illegible] They offered to pay me small sums for our houses and improvements but I refused to sell.Our Indian Agent at Fort Steele advised me to settle with the Doukhobors and leave the place. He said I should go to Burton City and live there . . . I refused to take this settlement and did not leave . . . I want to stay in the home where I have always been and want that I have a piece of land made secure for me there. However if I am to be forced away from the land of my fathers, and my home I want at least $1,000.00 compensation . . . I also ask that the graveyards of my people be fenced and preserved from desecration . . . (A. Christian 1914).

In this same statement, Alexander Christian provided details of how the Doukhobors allegedly plowed up almost all of his cleared land, and also how they allegedly plowed up a number of graves (A. Christian 1914).

Several months later, on October 18th, 1914, Indian Agent Galbraith testified before the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs (Galbraith 1914). He gave his perceptions of the history of the Native people living at Lower Arrow Lake and at the mouth of the Kootenay, and explained how he had obtained an agreement from a representative of the heirs of the Haynes estate that the Indian Affairs Department would be given an opportunity to purchase some land there. Galbraith talked further about this piece of land that was part of the Haynes estate:

> ...before I knew anything about it, it passed into the hands of the Doukhobors. I went to see the Doukhobors and I nearly got into a serious row with them ...I received a letter from the Doukhobors in which they said that they would not sell any of the land, but that the Indians might

> remain where they were. The Doukhobors have now fenced in the land, leaving the Indians with just about two acres. I again saw Mr. Verigin's assistant and pointed out to him that the indians had a few houses on the Doukhobors' land, and I told him that if the Indians received a little compensation for these houses they would get out. Compensation was refused, but the Doukhobors said that the Indians might remain where they were, but they are so closely fenced in that can not do anything; in fact the Doukhobors have ploughed the land right up to the Indians' fence. In the meantime Baptiste [Baptiste Christian], who is the head of the Band, could see that there was no chance for getting any of the land, so he and his wife, who was a Colville woman, went to Marcus, just south of the Line, where they were given 160 acres of land, horses, agricultural implements and other farming tools. I have, however, never taken him off the rolls of the Agency as he claimed that he held this American property for his wife as a Colville woman, and he says that he is a King George man [British subject], and that some day he will come back again (Galbraith 1914).

As far as we have been able to determine, it is not until March, 1915 that any further information appears in government records concerning this matter — a March 24th, 1915[123] "Minute of Proceedings" with respect to the "Robson [Brilliant] Reserve" (British Columbia 1913-1915:2:309-310) was transmitted on March 25th, 1915 to the Secretary of State by the Secretary of the Royal Commission (Bergeron 1915). This "Minute of Proceedings" read as follows:

> The Commission having before it the Schedule of Indian Reserves 1913 [published as a supplement to the 1913 Indian Affairs Annual Report] and finding therein appearing at Page 70, as one of those allotted for the use and benefit of the Indians of the Kootenay [sic] Tribe a Reserve named "Robson" of undefined acreage and marked "Temporary: Occupied by consent of Doukhobors", it was, upon inquiry ascertained that, inasmuch as the land contained therein has been alienated by the crown, the Commission has no disposing power therover; notwithstanding which, the Commission is of opinion that the Indian occupants have suffered grievance both as to their land holding and as to their graves, and , with a view to the Government of Canada taking such action therein as such Government may deem possible and desirable for the remedy of such Indian grievances, it is therefore ORDERED: That copies of the Declaration of the Indian Alexander Christie dated the 25th June, 1914, and of the Statement of Abraham Hirst, J.P. dated the 6th June, 1914, thereto attached, together with extracts from the evidence of Mr. R.L.T. Galbraith, Agent of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Kootenay Agency, in relation thereto, be transmitted to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for the information of that Government and

> such action in the premises as may be deemed proper and necessary [underlined in original] (British Columbia 1913-1915:2:309-310).

Considering the voluminous correspondence and testimony on file, it seems surprising that the Royal Commission would assume the proposed Reserve at "Robson" [actually, at Brilliant] was "for the use and benefit . . . of the Kootenay Tribe." On the other hand, the available data suggest that neither Indian Affairs officials nor local non-Natives understood exactly who the Lakes Indians were. This "Minute of Proceedings" made reference to the "undefined acreage" of this proposed Indian Reserve. While Galbraith (1914) stated he had tried to obtain "10 acres" here from the Haynes estate, J.W. Sherbinin in September 1912 referred to the area in question as "5 to 10 acres" (Sherbinin 1912), and an unofficial annotation by W.E. Ditchburn (Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies for B.C.) on his personal copy of the 1902 "Schedule of Indian Reserves In The Dominion" read: "Robson ... At Junction of Kootenay & Columbia Rivers on North Bank . . . Kootenay Band, 15 acres, Temporary" (Ditchburn n.d.a.) [No annotation appears on Ditchburn's personal copy of the 1913 "Schedule of Indian Reserves" (Ditchburn n.d.b).]

Chief Surveyor S. Bray wrote a memorandum on April 10th, 1915 to Duncan Scott (Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa), responding to the above-mentioned March 25th, 1915 letter and its enclosed "Minute of Proceedings:"

> In view of the evidence submitted by the Commission, I think it may be possible that the portion of land claimed by the Indians might be re-covered by legal action. This would, however, be a slow and expensive proceeding and before such a step is decided upon, I think that the Agent might be instructed to represent to the Doukhobors, the legal claims of the Indians, and that in order to prevent further trouble, they should consent to sell for a moderate price, an area of say 5 acres for use of the Indians (Bray 1915a).

J.D. McLean communicated this information to Indian Agency Inspector A. Megraw on April 19th, 1915, and told him:

> ...you should at the first convenient opportunity visit the locality and after examining into the facts of the case . . .represent the legal claims of the Indians to the Doukhobors . . .If they consent to this proceeding [that is, agreeing to sell about five acres for the use of the Indians] please endeavour to arrive at the price that should be paid for the land (McLean 1915b).

On May 6th, 1915, McLean wrote to the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs and asked him to "inform the Commission that action is being taken in the direction advised by their Minute" (McLean 1915b).

But again the Doukhobors' representatives were unwilling to part with any of their newly-acquired land — Megraw (1915b) wrote on July 23, 1915 that he had been "unable to induce the Doukhobor Society to sell any of the land." In light of the apparently-unsympathetic view that Megraw had of the Christian family's plight (as was made very clear in his letters to Alexander Christian and in his report to the Indian Affairs Department), we wonder just how Megraw represented the Department's position to the

Doukhobor Society's representatives.

Megraw's 6-page report concerning this matter was sent to McLean on July 24th, 1915 (Megraw 1915c). With his report, Megraw enclosed several letters, one of which was dated June 7th, 1915 and was from Alexander Christian in Bossburg, Washington (upriver from Marcus). Once again, Alex Christian explained the situation concerning the land at the mouth of the Kootenay, and he added:

> I think it only just and right that the government take up and look into my claim and pay me something for my home and improvements . . . now this land I lived on at mouth of Kootney river always was an Indian reserve, I can not understand why it was sold and taken away from me . . . my claim very reasonable considering the loss of my place that I was born and raised on (A. Christie 1915a).

However, as we have noted, Megraw was apparently not at all sympathetic to the Christian family's unfortunate circumstances. In a letter written to Alexander Christian on June 14th, 1915, Megraw responded to Christian's letter of June 7th, 1915 as follows:

> You see that the Royal Commission and the Government at Ottawa and the Indian Agent, Mr. Galbraith and myself, all want to get for you everything that is coming to you, but you make it harder when you tell us what is not true and keep back many of the things that are true...Be sure and write me and tell me all about the things I have asked you about, and be sure that what you tell me is true (Megraw 1915a).

What Megraw wanted Christian to tell him was: why he would not live on the Indian Reserve at Oatscott; why he did not say anything to J.C. Haynes, when Haynes was alive, about the land at the mouth of the Kootenay [Alex would have been about 15 years old when Haynes died in 1888]; why he did not put up a fence when Galbraith had suggested he should; and why he wanted compensation for improvements (Megraw 1915a).

Alexander Christian answered Megraw's letter on June 25th, 1915, and responded to Megraw's questions and insinuations:

> ...now so far as that letters goes that I swore to at Spencers Bridge [June 25th, 1914] ... If I swore to any thing rong [I did not?] intend to do so you forgot to state in your letter what it was I swore to rong, please let me know what they were, the reason I did not live on the land, on the Columbia river [at Oatscott Indian Reserve] is it was not my home the land that was taken away from me was my home. It was the reservation and the home of my parent . . . I did not put up the fence when you speak of I did not think it right that I should be ordered around in such manner on my own land and home. I want to make my home in that country and want the $1,000.00 [in compensation] to buy a piece of land and fix up a house where I wish to live and I think I should of have the right to do this . . . as far as being a good neighbour I was but every time I left my house on my return every thing would be missing . . . the reason I did not make any kick about my land before I did is I did not under stand what had been done . . .

> this [whole matter] looks a simple affair to put before the government . . . trusting you will put my case before the government is the most simple way and just as it has accured [occurred] ... (A. Christie 1915b).

We have seen nothing in the records to indicate that Megraw ever did respond to Alexander Christian's letter of June 25th , 1915.

Along with his July 24th, 1915 report, Megraw enclosed a letter dated June 24th, 1915 from "The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Doukhobors in Canada" under the signature of J.W. Sherbinin:

> I beg to inform you that Doukhobor Community can at no rate sell the land in the central of Community Blocks. But, if an Indian has a right to get use out of the land at Block 9, the Community authorize him the living on same, of course with the understanding so he should not cause any harm to surrounding plantations, as we are occupying ourselves with fruit growing and gardens (Sherbinin 1915).

Megraw's July 24th, 1915 report was clearly unsympathetic to the Natives' claims to this land at Brilliant (Megraw 1915c). While Megraw was of the opinion that "the only hope of breaking the title to a tract of land alienated from the Crown under the Land Act of the province of British Columbia, would be to attack it on the ground of fraud," he felt this approach would not work because "no objection appears to have been made by the Indians to issuance of the Crown Grant [to Haynes] or subsequent possession under the Crown Grant." Megraw stated further that his evidence showed "the claim of the Indians to this piece of ground appears to be of comparatively recent discovery on their part." Moreover, Megraw wondered why the Christian family had made no claim to the Indian Reserve Commissioner when Kutenai Indian Reserves were being allotted in 1884. Megraw then stated that the "particular Band of family of Indians" to which Alexander Christian belonged were "distinctively American in their affiliations," and provided further information he had obtained about these people:

> As for their graves they appear to have them at intervals all along the Arrow Lakes on ground that they make no pretence of laying any claim to. They looked upon the entire length of the Arrow Lakes and the Kootenay River between Kootenay Lake and the Columbia River as hunting and fishing ground, and, as an old Captain on the Columbia and Arrow Lakes told me, "they followed the freeze-up form Arrowhead to Robson" (Megraw 1915c).

Megraw (1915c) then pointed out that Galbraith's predecessor, Michael Phillips, apparently did not consider these people (that is, the Lakes Indians) as belonging to his Agency "and paid no attention to them." Next Megraw described how Galbraith had originally found the Christian family living on the opposite side of the Columbia, near Castlegar, and not on the land in question at the north side of the Kootenay River mouth. According to Megraw, the Christian family would not live on the Indian Reserve at Oatscott "because of jealousy with the other Indians." .

This unsympathetic report by Megraw (1915c) continued with allegations of "misstatements" in Alexander Christian's statement of June 25th,

1914, and further allegations to the effect that the Doukhobors had not desecrated any graves on the land in question, contrary to what Christian had stated. Finally, Megraw concluded that it would be hopeless to spend any money in litigating this case. He ended his report with the statement that in his opinion, Alexander Christian's plan was only to "procure $1000.00 out of the claim which has been set up and spend it down in Washington."

Megraw's (1915c) report, which clearly had the appearance of bias, was accepted by the Indian Affairs Department, apparently without question. Chief Surveyor S. Bray (1915b) stated in a memorandum to Duncan Scott on July 30th, 1915 that "Mr. Megraw has evidently looked carefully into the matter." Bray made the following recommendation:

> I beg to recommend that Mr. R.L.T. Galbraith . . . be requested to instruct the Indians that the Department has had a full investigation of their claim and has decided that no further action can be taken to secure land for them at the mouth of the Kootenay River and they should continue to occupy the land under permission of the Doukhobors and to be good neighbours with them (Bray 1915b).

Duncan Scott approved this recommendation and J.D. McLean (1915c) relayed this recommendation to Galbraith on August 4th , 1915.[124]

Although the Indian Department had made it clear they were not going to pursue this matter any further, Alexander Christian and others continued living in this area, at least sporadically, until the 1920s. And Galbraith continued to visit this Indian settlement at Brilliant at least until 1919. His monthly diary report for July, 1917 noted that on July 14th, 1917, he "visited the Indian Reserve at the mouth of the Kootenay River, found some of the Indians at home..." (Galbraith 1917). Clearly, Galbraith still considered the Indian settlement here as a temporary Indian Reserve. In his monthly diary report for June 1919, Galbraith stated that he went to visit several Indians living in the vicinity of the Doukhobor settlement at Brilliant (Galbraith 1919). This is the last reference we have found to the Indian Agent visiting the Indian settlement at Brilliant.[125]

Alex Christian, and possibly some other members of his family, remained at the Kootenay mouth, at least seasonally, into the 1920s. The last reference to Alex Christian's name in the documents we have reviewed appears to be his mention in the Census Book of the Arrow Lake Band in 1923 (Arrow Lake Band 1920-1923). According to local historian Harold Webber (1973:92), Alec Christian is reported to have contracted tuberculosis and gone into the "Old Men's Home" in Kamloops in the early 1920s, and to have died shortly afterwards. While we have not been able to confirm this, we have discussed in the present report how Mr. Frank Webster of Robson remembers Alex Christian from the 1920s, and as late as 1928-1929 (Webster 1999).

There are several references to graveyards in the vicinity of the settlement at Brilliant. James Teit (1930b:209), referring to the time when he was at Brilliant in 1909, commented that "both old and modern burial grounds" were visible in this neighbourhood.Mary Marchand also referred to a graveyard at the Brilliant settlement (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:120). Likely this is the same cemetery referred to as the place where Marianne Christian was buried in March 1911 — it was referred to as "the family burying

grounds overlooking the junction of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers" (*Nelson Daily News* 1911). The graves themselves are alleged to have been obliterated by Doukhobor settlers, although apparently some graves remained but were frequently pillaged by artifact hunters, particularly as their locations became apparent through erosion. An unidentified writer in 1952 remarked of the people at this site:

> They must have lived there a long time, as the writer saw many graves dug up and despoiled of their contents as late as 1939. There were many graves, some apparently of chiefs and medicine men, with bone charms, big bear spears made of dark, flint-like stone, smaller spears for fish, jade chisels, and corn [sic] grinders of granite. Many of these tools were buried in the graves along the river bank from Waldie's Mill to Ootischenia. There are graves even on the banks of the Kootenay River . . . (*Castlegar Historical Review* 1952).

Several of these areas where graves were located became known when the discovery of the graves was publicized — in 1952, a multiple grave at Brilliant along the sand banks of the Kootenay River was discovered (*Nelson Daily News* 1952).

Castlegar

While many sources make reference to the Native settlement at the present site of Brilliant, there are relatively few references to a settlement on the other side of the Columbia in the Castlegar area.

The Lakes and Colville people we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s used the term *kp'ítl'els*, widely recorded as the name for the Lakes Indian settlement at Brilliant on the north side of the Kootenay/Columbia confluence across from Castlegar, also to refer to Castlegar.[126] On the other hand, Verne Ray (1936b:127) was told by his Native consultant of a Lakes settlement "at the site of the present town of Castlegar" which *was* separate from *kp'ítl'els* (identified by Ray as the Brilliant site). Although Ray's consultant did not provide a separate Native term for this Castlegar settlement, he stated it was "important for both spear and line fishing. There was a rapids here, which aided the fisherman" (Ray 1936b:127).

W.G. Cox in early October of 1861 camped at a site in this general area which he described as a Native fishing place "during the proper season." However, as the following discussion indicates, we believe this place was actually to the west of Castlegar. Cox described this place on October 3rd, 1861 as follows:

> Encamped between the Lake and the Kootanais River — grassy bank on west side — a small stream flows into the Columbia from the mountains at the side — abundance of salmon killed here by the Indians during the proper season. Fern, oregon grape, Indian tobacco plant,[127] and wild strawberry constitute the vegetation here (Cox 1861).

This description of the place where Cox camped has to be considered in the larger context of his 1861 report. Cox wrote that while proceeding down the Columbia, he camped at the entrance to Lower Arrow Lake on October 1st, 1861 (this entrance was formerly about half a mile up the Columbia from the mouth of Syringa Creek). By the end of the day on October 2nd, Cox reported that he had "dropped down the river about 6 miles." This would have brought him to an area somewhere between the sites of the present-day Keenleyside Dam and the pulp mill, about 4 miles

(approximately 6 Km) west of Castlegar. The only clue provided by Cox as to his camping place on the night of October 3rd was that it was "between the Lake and the Kootanais River."

Assuming that Cox and his party did not much travel much further down the Columbia on the next day, October 3rd, the place they camped on the night of October 3rd was possibly at the mouth of one of the very small creeks in the vicinity of Robson West (about a mile west from Castlegar), or the larger creek at the present-day pulp mill. Another indication that Cox's camping area was to the west of Castlegar is provided by his description of how on October 8th, while still camped at this same place, two Natives who were with him and had gone on a "shooting excursion," returned and reported "the presence of miners and boats opposite the Kootanais River." Cox wrote that upon hearing this, he got his canoe and visited these miners (Cox 1861). This suggests he was near (i.e. west of), but not right at Castlegar.[128]

Support for this site being in the vicinity of the present-day pulp mill is also provided through reports from the 1950s of Native graves in and around this vicinity including the place known as Waldie's Mill (*Castlegar Historical Review* 1952; Webber 1973:21-22).[129]

Several sources have identified Lakes Indian people in the early 1900s living in Castlegar, as well as graves here. In August of 1902, Indian Agent Galbraith reported that Baptiste Christian had been "squatting on a piece of land on the west side of the Columbia River at a place now known as Castlegar" (Galbraith 1902d). Baptiste's brother, Alex Christian, had a cabin located on what became Columbia Avenue in Castlegar (Webber 1973:86-88) [the cabin's location was actually at the northern end of Castlegar, not far from the present-day bridge that crosses over to Robson]. A 1915 map compiled by Indian Affairs officials indicated where Natives were living at the time the Agent visited, along with the plot opposite at Brilliant which they claimed as their traditional home (Megraw [1915]). An article in the *Nelson Daily News* in July, 1952 made reference to "graves. . . within the village of Castlegar, itself" (*Nelson Daily News* 1952) And it was noted in an article in the *Castlegar Historical Review* in November, 1952 that several graves had been discovered in the city, but the locations had not been publicized for fear of alarming people (*Castlegar Historical Review* 1952).

Ootischenia

No Native name is known for the place known as "Ootischenia" (which itself is a Doukhoboor name), located on the east side of the Columbia, about 2 miles (approximately 3 Km) south from the Kootenay confluence. The local name of the Ootischenia area before the Doukhobors' arrival was "Waterloo Flats" (*Castlegar News Centennial Edition* 1967).

While archaeological evidence and non-Indian oral history accounts indicate a Native presence all the way from the Kootenay River mouth down to Ootischenia, we are aware of no ethnographic references to Natives here [other than Ray's (1936b:114) map which appears to indicate the Kootenay confluence site on the south side of the Kootenay River mouth]. However, Ross DeFoe (1964) recalled that when he first came to this area in 1909, there were "a few Indians" living at the south mouth of the Kootenay. As well, Doukhobor historian Eli Popoff (1985: pers. comm.) stated that he had interviewed two elderly Doukhobor men from this area, both of whom recalled that either in the summer of 1908 or 1909, two Native Indian families lived near Ootischenia. Presumably these were the same

people referred to by DeFoe. What happened to one of these families was not remembered, but the other family was said to have left in a boat and gone away upstream when the Doukhobor people first came to this area (E. Popoff 1985: pers. comm).What appears to be this same incident was also reported in the *Castlegar News Centennial Edition* in September 1967, in an article (whose author was not identified) relating to Doukhobor history:

> There had been an Indian family living in this vicinity [near the south mouth of the Kootenay], on the Waterloo Flats [near Ootischenia] side, but they had packed all their belongings into a boat and went away upstream on the Columbia river, the first summer the Doukhobors settled here (*Castlegar News Centennial Edition* 1967).

Trail

The Lakes people we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s identified the site of the present town of Trail as *tsagwlxílhts'a* (meaning 'wash body' in the Okanagan-Colville language) which is clearly the same name recorded by Teit (1930b:210) as "*tcEaulEx̣x̣i´xtsa*" and by Ray (1936b:125) as "*tcwlx·´t'sȧ.*"

Teit (1930b:210) identified this place as one of several "important temporary camps" of the Lakes Indians, but provided no further information about it. The same place, however, was independently identified by Verne Ray (1936b:125) as a Lakes camp "located on the west side of the Columbia river at the site of the present town of Trail." Ray was told that Lakes hunters used the site for a few days at a time as a base for deer hunting.

Several documents from the early 20th century refer to an Indian campsite here on the *eastern* side of the Columbia. The mining town of "Trail Creek Landing" on the *west* side of the Columbia was already in existence in 1896 when the smelter began operation (Trail History and Heritage Committee 1997), so it is likely this made use of the "temporary camp" (Teit 1930b:210) here impossible.

In April 1902 the *Rossland Miner* newspaper reported that Indian Agent Galbraith visited the Trail area:

> for the purpose of vaccinating the Indians opposite Trail, on the east side of the Columbia river, and to persuade them not to cross the line or mingle with the Indians of the Colville reservation, where danger of smallpox exists... In visiting the camp opposite Trail, he found the Indians well supplied with food, neatly dressed and their families free from sickness (*Rossland Miner* 1902).

Both this newspaper article as well as 1902 correspondence from Indian Agent Galbraith referred to an Indian man known as "Joseph." In April 1902, Galbraith referred to "Joseph of Trail" (Galbraith 1902a) and in August 1902 noted that:

> Joseph ... is on land purchased some years ago by Mr. G.M. Sproat [actually, it was J.C. Haynes] at the mouth of the Kootenay.[130] He goes from time to time to Trail and occupies a cabin on land belonging to Mr. Arthur Dick on the east side of the Columbia opposite the town of Trail (Galbraith 1902d).

What appears to be the same man was also associated with the east bank of the Columbia by the *Rossland Miner* in April 1902. It reported that:

> One old fellow, known as Joseph,

> who died last year, was supposed to be about 90. He was a squatter at the mouth of the Kootenay, but was restless, and fond of wandering up and down the river. About three years ago he went to Rossland and his appearance on the streets excited much interest. He was an expert hunter and trapper. Last year he concluded he would come down and join the family opposite Trail, but he died on the trip (Rossland Miner 1902).

The two sources disagree about whether or not Joseph was still living in 1902. Either there were two well-known "Josephs" both with affiliations with Trail and the Kootenay mouth, possibly a father and son, or else the newspaper confused Joseph's passing with that of another elderly Native man — the one whose deceased body, found "near Castlegar," was brought to Indian Agent Galbraith's attention in 1901 (Galbraith 1914). These discrepancies notwithstanding, both sources agree on the important issue here, that a Native man moved seasonally between the known settlement at the mouth of the Kootenay, and the east bank of the Columbia at Trail. Given that, as we have discussed, the Native people living at the Kootenay mouth in the early 1900s were identified as Lakes (*sngaytskstx*), we assume this "Joseph" was also a Lakes man.

A pamphlet issued during Trail's golden jubilee in 1951 also stated that "certainly Indians camped across the Columbia on the flats of the present Sunningdale" (Trail Golden Jubilee Society 1951:5). The source of the pamphlet's information — and whether it is independent of the 1902 article — is not known however. The area referred to is on the east side of the Columbia, across from Topping Creek which enters the Columbia just north from Trail.

Local historian Harold Webber, referring to the period between approximately 1900 and 1920, noted that Alec Christian had a fishing cabin "between Sandy Island[131] and what is now known as Sunningdale" which he used while "fishing around the Trail area." He added that Alec Christian also had a cabin "across the river from Birchbank" that he used when trapping in the Champion Lakes region (Webber 1973:87). This cabin burned in a forest fire around 1926 (Trail History and Heritage Committee 1997:347). [Birchbank was/is on the west side of the Columbia about 5 miles (8 Km) north of Trail, and the Champion Lakes area is east from the Columbia, across and north from Birchbank].

Creek Near Trail

Teit (1930b:209) identified "*snskɛkɛle'um*" as one of the old villages or camps of the Lakes people that was located "at a creek on the west side of Columbia River, close to Trail" and was "a center for gathering service berries [saskatoon berries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*)]." Ray's (1936b:125) information about this place, and his transcription, "*snskəkəle'um*," are acknowledged as being from Teit.

Mary Marchand and Julia Quintasket both recognized Teit's "*snskɛkɛle'um*" as the Okanagan-Colville term *snsk̲ek̲el̓íwm* — they knew this term as a place name, but did not know its meaning, or where this named place was located. Joe Barr mentioned to us that a "creek at Trail was thick with kokanee." Whether or not he was referring to the same creek as Teit is not known, since Mr. Barr did not know this creek's Native (or English) name, and did not recognize the term *snsk̲ek̲el̓íwm*.

Exactly which creek Teit identified in the vicinity of Trail is not clear from the evidence. It may have been Topping Creek, which runs into

the Columbia just north of the town's outskirts, but this is by no means certain.[132]

Red Mountain and Rossland

Teit (1930b:210) was the only source to have identified "*kɛluwi'sst*" as an "important temporary camp" of the Lakes people at the place that is "now Rossland." He provided no additional information about this place. While Teit did not provide a translation of the name "*kɛluwi'sst,*" it is very likely his transcription of the Okanagan-Colville term *k'lwist,* which means 'up in the hills.' The Lakes consultants we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s did not recognize *k'lwist* as a specific place name in this area, although they did refer to any general area up in the hills as *k'lwist.*

The place name that *was* known in this area to the Lakes people we interviewed was *kmarkn* (which means 'smooth top' in the Okanagan-Colville language), the term for Red Mountain located immediately northwest of Rossland. Our Lakes consultants applied the term *kmarkn* specifically to Red Mountain, and more broadly to include the whole general vicinity of Rossland as well. They indicated that *kmarkn* was an important huckleberry-picking area, and that the area is still known by this indigenous name.

Julia Quintasket recalled that in the early 1900s, the "Kelly Hill and Northport Indians" (that is, Lakes people living along the Columbia just north from Kettle Falls, and near the B.C. border, respectively) used to go regularly to *kmarkn* to pick huckleberries. Mary Marchand and Joe Barr also identified this place name, and indicated that this was formerly a good place to get huckleberries. Mr. Barr told us that the huckleberry grounds here were last used in the early 1920s, and Mary Marchand told us that the last time she went to pick huckleberries here at *kmarkn* was around 1930.

William Barr, Joe Barr's brother, also referred to Lakes people gathering huckleberries at Rossland, and mentioned that he had been here himself as a child — he stated in a 1986 interview that:

> We used to go to Rossland to go huckleberrying. We'd go up there with my Mother, long time ago, that's when I was just a young kid. There was a lot of Indians that used to go there, Rossland. Rossland there was some high mountains there, I don't know, I forgot the name of it, they picked huckleberries there. You could get a lot of Indians there, lots of Indians go there, pick huckleberries (Barr 1986).

Beaver Valley Area

Although no Native names have been recorded for Beaver Creek (which enters the east side of the Columbia, downriver from Trail) or Beaver Valley, the use of this area by Lakes Indian people has been documented.

Clara Graham (1963:242-243), who lived in the early 1900s along upper Beaver Creek (near where Benton Creek enters Beaver Creek), recorded information that Beaver Creek was used for hunting by the "*Senijextee*" [*sngaytskstx*, Lakes]. Mrs. Graham wrote that according to Native legend, a "*Senijextee*" Indian chief was killed by a bear or caribou while hunting in the valley of Beaver Creek. She added that this chief's people "then set fire to the country and for many years they stayed away" but that around 1900, a few families returned in the fall to hunt. Mrs. Graham continued:

> The last remnant of these people had a camping ground about twelve miles upstream from the mouth of Beaver Creek and, during their occasional visits to the region, set up their

> shelters at this spot, built a little willow fence to keep their half dozen or so ponies out of an adjoining meadow which belonged to the owner of the land, and spent a few days hunting (Graham 1963:242-243).

If Clara Graham's distance estimate is correct, the area of this Lakes encampment in the early 1900s would have been just up Beaver Creek from the place called Ross Spur, and just downriver from Graham's parents' place near the Benton Creek confluence.

Salmo pioneer Rollie Mifflin (1958:47) described how "Colville" [Lakes] Indians in the early 1900s "following a custom of their ancestors" used to travel by horseback through the Beaver Valley on their way to Salmo (see also Section 5.0 of the present study). Mr. Miflin (1958:47-50) wrote that these Natives used to come to this general area "to trap beaver, mink, muskrat and any other fur-bearing animals they might find" and that they "sold cayuses to prospectors, livery stable operators and to others who might want or need pack or saddle horses."

Fort Shepherd

Fort Shepherd, a Hudson's Bay Company post, was built in 1856-1857 about a mile (approximately 1.6 Km) north of the international boundary on the west side of the Columbia so that the Company could continue their trade in this region when it was expected that Fort Colvile would be closed by American authorities. No Native name for this place has been recorded.

Soon after its construction, Fort Shepherd had become the headquarters for several hundred Lakes people. John Sullivan, who was at the fort in September 1859, reported that he:

> arrived at Fort Shepherd on the evening of the 13th. At this place I engaged three Sanihk [*sngaytskstx*] Indians and despatched two more of the same tribe in search of the only Indian who was said to know the country that I was about to explore (Spry 1968:480).[133]

When Fort Shepherd was temporarily closed between 1860 and 1863, it was left in the care of the Lakes people and remained a centre for them. W.G. Cox reported in April of 1862 that Lakes Indians "with their families always pass the winter months near the Fort [Fort Shepherd]." After the Hudson's Bay Company reopened Fort Shepherd, it continued to be an important center for the Lakes people. James Turnbull wrote in August 1865 that "all the [Lakes] Indians including the Chief of the tribe (Gregoire), were either at the mouth of the Kootenay River [at Brilliant] or Fort Shepherd." Jason Ovid Allard, who ran the post between 1866 and 1870, reported that "200 to 300 men and women and children" camped in the fort's vicinity. William Winans, the Colville Indian Agent in what is now Washington State, reported in 1870 — the last year that the Hudson's Bay Company operated Fort Shepherd — that it was the principal place of rendezvous of the Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) Indians. After the fort closed, it was again left in the care of the Lakes people. Fort Shepherd burned to the ground in 1872 (Cox 1862; Finlayson 1862b; 1870; Winans 1870; Allard n.d.; Turnbull 1866:27).[134]

Only James Teit recorded that a village once stood at the site later occupied by Fort Shepherd. His identification, however, was less than certain:

> It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no

> knowledge of a village having been here (Teit 1930b:210).

Archaeological remains at this site, however, do indicate that it was utilized in prehistoric times.

The comments of a Beaver Valley resident, Bill Grieve, suggest there was some Native use of the Fort Shepherd area well into the 1900s:

> There used to be some Indians, nearest I know, down at Fort Shepherd Bay, on the upper side where them rocks are, across the river. There used to be a family lived there, fishing (Beaver Valley and Pend d'Oreille Historical Society 1997:95-96).

While Mr. Grieve did not identify these Natives at Fort Shepherd, possibly he was referring to Alex Christian, a well-known Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) man. Alec Christian *was* identified living at Fort Shepherd by a man named Jim Burrows, born in 1908, who had come in 1914 to the Columbia Gardens area, located below where Beaver Creek enters into the Columbia. In response to an interviewer's question in 1978, "Do you remember seeing any Indians?", Mr. Burrows replied:

> Not around here too much. I knew one guy, who used to take me fishing down at the Columbia River. He lived way over at Fort Shepherd. Alec they called him — Alec the Indian. He was kinda a one-eyed fella. Small guy. He used to borrow my dad's rifle all the time and shoot deer, and he'd bring us up a big roast or leg of deer, or some nice fish that he'd caught in the river. He lived there all by himself, for years. After a while he got married or had a woman living with him; and it wasn't too long after that I heard he had passed on. . . He'd come across in a canoe — kinda homemade canoe — and he'd tie it up and walk up to our place and get vegetables and things, and bring us some nice fish (Beaver Valley and Pend d'Oreille Historical Society 1997:27,32).

Pend d'Oreille River mouth/Waneta

The Pend d'Oreille River mouth, located on the east side of the Columbia River at Waneta, immediately north of the International Border, is known in the Okanagan-Colville language as *nkw'líla7* (possibly meaning 'burned area'). The term *nkw'líla7*, well known to the Lakes people we interviewed in the 1970s-1980s, refers specifically to an important Lakes settlement formerly located at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille River, and more generally to the lower area of this river as well. [135] Several other sources have transcribed the Okanagan-Colvillle term for this place, as follows: "*nkulilu*" (Gatschet 1885; no translation given); "*nkoli'la*" (Teit 1930b:209; no translation given); and, "*nquli'la'* " (Ray 1936b:125; no translation given).

Mary Marchand said that the lower area of the Pend d'Oreille River was utilized by the Lakes people, but referred to the people further up the Pend'd'Oreille River as *kelspílmx* which means 'Kalispel people' in the Okanagan-Colville language. According to Mrs. Marchand, the "border" between the Lakes and the Kalispel was at Metaline Falls. [These falls are located in Washington State, about 40 Km (25 miles) eastward up the Pend d'Oreille River from where it empties into the Columbia, and about 16 kilometres (10 miles) south of the International Boundary]. Independent confirmation of Mary Marchand's Lakes/Kalispel boundary statement is provided in one of James Teit's (1910-1913) unpublished territorial maps where he draws the Lakes/Kalispel boundary line through Metaline

Falls. Additional, partial confirmation of this boundary comes from anthropologist Stuart Chalfant who wrote in the early 1950s that the Kalispel fished "as far down [the Pend d'Oreille] as Metaline Falls" (Chalfant 1974a:225). Chalfant (n.d.) also indicated this boundary at Metaline Falls on a map he prepared for the U.S. Indian Claims Commission.[136]

Reports differ concerning the exact site of the village at *nkw'líla7*, and some confusion is caused by the fact that a non-Native settlement known as "Waneta" was located on the north side of the Pend d'Oreille mouth, and another non-Native settlement called "Boundary" was located on the south side. Mary Marchand said the village site was situated between the present-day border crossing station (located just south of the Pend d'Oreille river mouth), and the south bank of the River, itself. Teit (1930b:209), on the other hand, stated that the village site was located "just above" (north of) the Pend d'Oreille River mouth, while Ray (1936b:125), who independently elicited information about this place, said it was "about a mile" above the Pend d'Oreille mouth. Because there has been so much disturbance of the land in this area around the river mouth, it may never be possible to determine this village site's exact location.

Nkw'líla7 was a significant Lakes village site, according to James Teit (1930b:209) who reported that "many people are said to have lived here formerly, and there are some very old burial grounds near by." [137] Ray's (1936b:125) information was that this Lakes settlement "numbered four or five families throughout the year" and that "the berry fields and salmon grounds at Northport were conveniently at hand."

Mary Marchand identified *nkw'líla7* as a former Lakes winter village and a place where her maternal grandparents lived. She also recalled that there was good salmon fishing at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille itself. Mrs. Marchand noted that her mother, whose Indian name was *pelisití* ("Felicity"), was born here at *nkw'líla7,* and remembered that among the others who lived here was an old man named *nyagtínk*, whose English name she did not know (Julia Quintasket and Louise Lemery also knew these people identified by Mary Marchand). According to Mary Marchand, no one had lived at *nkw'líla7* since her mother's time, before 1900.

Information about Native people at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille River is also provided in ethnohistoric sources, one of which recorded that the Lakes people asserted control over the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille, and the right of passage from the Columbia up to the upper Pend d'Oreille. A. V. Wilson, a Wells Fargo manager, reported that in July 1855 he had been prevented from going from Fort Colville up the Columbia to the gold mines on the lower part of the Pend d'Oreille River.[138] Wilson stated that:

> ...Gregora, 1st chief, and Landre 2nd chief of the Lake Indians in the British possessions, came to the fort. Pierre Jerome [Chief of the Colville, who also objected to Wilson's passage] then had a talk with them, and told me that I could not go any further (Wilson 1855).

Wilson said that these Natives were opposed to any Americans entering this river until a Treaty was made with them, that they would prevent him by force from going to the mines, and that, as a consequence, he abandoned his planned trip (Wilson 1855).[139]

In September 1862, Roderick Finlayson reported that "there is a trader now established on the east side of the Columbia at the mouth of the Pon d'Oreille River nearly opposite Shepherd [Fort Shepherd], who managed in course of last

Spring to trade about 500 Martin [marten] skins from the Lake Indians..." (Finlayson 1862a). This is very likely a reference to an American man named Richard Fry who, together with his Lakes Indian wife, Justine "*Su-steel*" [140] was said to have established a trading post at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille in 1860. Fry and Justine reportedly stayed here until the spring of 1864 (Putnam n.d.; 1954:7; Fry family n.d.).[141]

SECTION 3.0 ENDNOTES

[1] Earlier references by David Thompson in 1811 (Glover 1962:385) and Ross Cox (Cox 1957:265, 275) in 1817 state that Indians were living on the Arrow Lakes, and describe them, but do not identify them by their indigenous name.

[2] Ross actually made this map in 1821, but notes on the map itself indicate that he made additions though 1825, and added annotations in 1849 (Ross 1821).

[3] We consider it very likely that Arrowsmith obtained the name "*Sin natch eggs*" from Ross's 1821 map. Arrowsmith (1859) not only wrote "*Sin Natch Eggs Ind.*" in a similar area where Ross had written it (but slightly north, closer to the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake), but also transposed Ross' identification of the people in this area into the name of the "river" (Caribou Creek). Arrowsmith was a cartographer who produced maps using information obtained from maps compiled by others. Thus he likely would not have obtained the Native term himself, but simply copied it from another source — in this case, Ross' 1821 map.

[4] For example, Alexander Henry recorded in 1811 that:

> The Flat Bow, or, as some call them , Lake Indians, dwell on the borders of the large lake, into which McGillivray's [Kootenay] river empties in its course to the Columbia. They frequently come up the former river as far as the falls, but seldom attempt to proceed higher (Coues 1897:II:708).

David Thompson (Elliott 1918:172) also identified the Lower Kutenai around Bonner's Ferry as "Lake" Indians.

[5] De Smet also marked the location with a cross of St Peter's Station, a mission site established in 1845 and left in the hands of Father Hoecken (Garraghan 1938:II:339). A subsequent map also associates St. Peter's Station and the "people of the lakes" with the Arrow Lakes (De Smet 1851).

[6] Johnson does not cite her sources, but they may have been provided by H.W. Herridge, a local parliamentarian, and avid collector of data on the Arrow Lakes Indians.

[7] The volume (Arrow Lakes Historical Society 1989:8) refers to the Okanagans being "likely a subtribe of the Shuswaps," which was the conclusion of George Dawson in 1892. This has been clarified subsequently by anthropological and linguistic research. The identity of the groups comprising the Colville Confederated Tribes is clearly set out in the recently-published Plateau Volume of the Smithsonian's Handbook of North American Indians (see for example, Kennedy and Bouchard 1998).

[8] Chamberlain (1893:551), for example, recorded that some Okanagan occasionally visited the Kutenai, and that about ten years previously [1883], several visited the "*a´qk'a¯m*" band around Fort Steele.

[9] This family, the Christian (Christie) family, who lived at the mouth of the Kootenay River, has been variously described by some non-Native local historians as "Kutenai." However, Teit's information, obtained in detailed interviews *from the family themselves* clearly identified them as Lakes, not Kutenai or Shuswap. This subject, and the Christie family in general, are considered in more detail in the discussion of the settlement at the mouth of the Kootenay in Section 3.2.

[10] Teit (1898-1910) noted in this May 20th, 1909 letter that "all the old men of this band are now dead so I got all my information from two women" — these two women were Antoinette Christian and her daughter Mary (Mary Anne).

[11] Some non-Natives in the region incorrectly believed these people to be Shuswap. A.S. Farwell, making inquiries about the local Indians in the Kootenay District on behalf of the

Provincial Government in 1883, was told that the people in this village were "a small band of Shuswap Indians" (Farwell 1884).

[12] This trail reportedly followed along Inonoaklin Creek to where it empties into the west side of the upper portion of Lower Arrow Lake, at Edgewood.

[13] Olga Johnson's 1969 Kutenai ethnography also placed the Arrow Lakes within Kutenai traditional territory. However, her study is largely based on a literature review, and although she did undertake some original ethnographic fieldwork, Johnson acknowledged very heavy reliance on Turney-High, especially in the early chapters which discuss territory (Johnson 1969:11). Since she did not indicate any original ethnographic sources for her territorial information, we consider it very likely that Johnson's conclusions on this subject are drawn principally from Turney-High.

[14] Turney-High noted that:

> The only serious differences between the map printed herein and the previous ones lies to the southwest and west. I myself feel serious doubt about the claims for so much territory to the southwest, but since informants were insistent, the map was drawn to their directions. In any event it is an unsettled point and perhaps one of no great importance (Turney-High 1941:24).

[15] Olga Johnson, who acknowledged her extensive use of Turney-High in her study of the Kutenai and Flathead Indians, followed Turney-High by, at one point, excluding the Lakes Indians entirely from the region's ethnohistory. She stated that:

> on the lower Kootani River, further west, Kutenais inhabited the Purcell Trench that runs north-south for three hundred miles between the Purcell and Selkirk ranges and extending ranges to the south. Some of the Kutenais once used to travel even further west, encountering the Okanogans at the Arrow Lakes of the Columbia (Johnson 1969:22).

At another point, her definition of the Lakes and their relation to the Kutenai and other groups is simply confused. She states that:

> Kutenai people also dwelt at Arrow Lakes, part of that confusing group known as the Lake Indians, of whom there were many villages on Arrow Slocan and Kootenay Lakes and along the Columbia River at the vicinity of the present international border. Most of the Arrow Lakes Indians were Salish: Okanogans of the Kettle Falls (Colville) group and Shuswaps from farther north . . . There were still a few people known as Kutenais at Arrow Lakes after the opening of the British Columbia Reserves, though they may have been of mixed blood (Johnson 1969:53).

[16] Dawson credited Robert Galbraith for the names of the Kutenai tribal groups (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:125). Galbraith was the former M.P.P. from Fort Steele, had acted for some years as the "medical advisor" to the Kutenai, and would later serve as Kootenay Indian Agency for over two decades. Clara Graham, while researching her history of the Kootenay District, later found the same information in Galbraith's own records (Graham 1963:4). Whether or not Galbraith also provided Dawson with his interpretation of the territory of these tribal groups, or whether these territories were Dawson's own independent conclusions, is not known.

[17] He indicated that this information was supplied by John W. McKay, who had been a Hudson's Bay Company employee and Indian agent (Dawson 1892:6).

[18] Teit's unpublished fieldnotes, a very important source, were not available to researchers at the time Turney- High was preparing his monograph. Many of the ethnohistoric sources were available in the Provincial Archives in Victoria, but would have been very difficult for Turney-High to have located and used. Some of the ethnohistoric data also came from records which had not been archived when Turney-High was doing his research.

[19] As we discuss in Section 7.1 of the present study, it is in the Trout Lake/Lardeau River region where we disagree with Brunton's (1998:24) delineation of the Kutenai/Lakes boundary. We indicated this boundary in our 1985 Lakes report (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:22a) along the Lardeau River, thereby placing the upper Lardeau River within Lakes territory, and the lower Lardeau, and all of Duncan River (and Duncan Lake), within Kutenai territory. Today we still place this boundary in the same area, approximately midway up the Lardeau. Notwithstanding, the map of Lakes territory which appears in our Smithsonian article on the Northern Okanagan, Lakes and Colville includes the northern end of Trout Lake in Lakes territory, while placing the southern end of Trout Lake outside Lakes territory (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:240). However this does *not* reflect our own views. Rather, it reflects the final conclusions of the editors of the Plateau Volume in which our article appears. In August 1997, in the semi-final draft of this article, we indicated the same Lakes boundary identified in our 1985 report, but we were not given the opportunity to make a final check of the article before it was published. Consequently the map in the published article (on page 240 of Kennedy and Bouchard 1998) indicates only the northwestern two-thirds of Trout Lake in Lakes territory, while the map of Kutenai territory in the same Volume takes in all of Trout Lake and indicates the Kutenai-Lakes boundary almost as far northwest as Beaton (Brunton 1998:223 — but see also Smith 1984:24).

[20] Around 1930, archaeologist Harlan I.Smith, as part of his cataloguing of Kutenai archaeological data, compiled a list of "Kootenay Neighbourhoods," which he indicated as the "Present Area of Kootenay Indians." The sources of this information are not clear. This is particularly important because some of Smith's notes indicate he was under the impression that the entire Arrow Lakes area had traditionally been used by the Kutenai. It is thus possible that Smith believed the Arrow Lake Indians were Kutenai, and included sites frequented by them in his list. It is also possible that Kutenai people were making use of these sites at this time (the early 1900s). Smith's information does not permit a clear resolution of this; it records only the specific sites which were being used, which is very useful in itself. The sites around the Arrow Lakes which Smith identified Kutenai people using at that time were: Nakusp, Cayuse Creek, which flows into Lower Arrow Lake approximately four kilometres southeast of Deer Park, Sunshine Creek, which flows into Lower Arrow Lake north of Deer Park, and Syringa Creek, which flowed into the old Lower Arrow Lake near its mouth (H.Smith c.1930). Except for Nakusp, these sites are concentrated on the lower part of Lower Arrow Lake.

[21] In its earlier years, this Fort's name was spelled "Colvile;" in later years, the spelling was changed to "Colville."

[22] The context for Galbraith's travels through this region was explained in a May 12th, 1909 letter that he wrote to George Johnston of Nelson. Galbraith said that in 1871, after spending several days at Fort Shepherd (across from the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille River), he and several officials travelled up to the Revelstoke area. Galbraith noted that he was going there to speak to electors, as he was running for political office. He commented that "there were still in 1871 a few Indians on the Columbia River, and I remember the name of the Chief was Gregoire" (Galbraith 1909).

[23] The speaker put the option to a vote, and it was adopted by the House without debate (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

[24] Sanderson, described by his son-in-law as having been able to speak three Indian dialects, travelled up and down the Columbia frequently, so it is very likely that his identification of the Natives was a knowledgeable one (Arrow Lakes Historical Society 1997:9-10).

[25] Other early residents of Revelstoke were also aware of the Lakes Indians' presence there. For example, local historian B.R. Atkins, who lived in Revelstoke for about 45 years beginning in the late 1890s (Nobbs 1998:138), wrote in 1925 that "from 'time immemorial' the Colville [i.e. Lakes] Indians considered Columbia River from Kettle Falls to Big Bend their rightful reserve" (Atkins 1925).

[26] The traditional territory of the Lakes Indians was not

conducive to supporting horses. Among the Okanagan-Colville groups, horses were first obtained in the early eighteenth century, from Indians to the east. Their use spread quickly to the Northern and Similkameen Okanagan, who had grazing land available for these introduced herds. However, the Lakes' environment did not permit horses to be kept until the people began wintering along the Columbia. A detailed account of the changes that took place in trading patterns after the acquisition of horses is provided in Teit (1930b:249, 252-254).

[27] We are aware of no Kutenai name for the Lakes Indians being elicited by any other early ethnographer either, although only Turney-High clearly states that he made an explicit, and unsuccessful, attempt to specifically elicit a term for the Lakes. Notwithstanding, a 1996 travel guide which relies on information provided by the Ktunaxa Nation states that the Kutenai called the Lakes "*catunik*," meaning 'people of the small lake' (Coull 1996:103).

[28] This appears to be a Kutenai pronunciation of the term *ukwnaḵín,* from which is derived the word *ukwnaḵínx*, the term used by the Okanagan people to delineate all those living along the Okanagan River drainage system.

[29] McDonald subsequently went to the Cariboo country in the 1860s, and remained in the Pacific Northwest for the rest of his life (Roe 1997). In his 1890 letter relating the incident it is not clear if he was told the story as a youth, or as an adult.

[30] Ethnohistoric sources from this early period often identify the Lakes Indians as part of the "Kettle Falls" Colville. Given the geographic contours Kittson indicated, there is no doubt that he was referring to the Lakes Indians, not the *sx̱weyíʔlhp* (Colville).

[31] Justine "*Su-steel*" was born in 1842 and died in 1918 (Fry family n.d.). Justine's father was a Lakes Indian man named Harry "*Swasticken*" (Fry family n.d.) [also spelled "*Soqu-stik-en*" (Putnam 1954:7)], and her mother, Hariette, was also Lakes (Fry family n.d.).

[32] The use of this term to identify the Lakes, "*Sinaeteht*" [*sngaytskstx*] is very clear in the early ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources. George Dawson called them the "*S-na-a-chikst*" (Dawson 1892:6). Franz Boas transcribed their name as "*Snaai'tckstq̓*" (Boas c.1900). James Teit recorded the name as "*Sna¯i´.tcEkstEx* and *Snrai´tcEkstEx*" (Teit 1910-1913) and as "*Snai´tcEkst*" (Teit 1930b:199). James Mooney referred to them as the "*Senijextee*" (Mooney 1896:732). Edward Curtis transcribed the name as "*Si˘nu˘aítskstu˘k*" (Curtis 1911:64). William W. Elmendorf used the term "*Sina´itskstx*" (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:1), and Verne Ray transcribed the Lakes' name as "*Sna´itckstkʷ*" (Ray 1936b:120).

Ethnohistoric sources which use transcriptions of the same word to identify the Lakes include: Alexander Ross, who in 1821 wrote their name as "*Sin natch eggs*" (Ross 1821); George Simpson in 1824, who referred to them as "*Sinachicks*"(Merk 1968); William Tolmie, "*Sinahoiluk*" (Tolmie 1864); Charles Wilson, "*Sinuitskistux*" (Wilson 1866:275-332); William P. Winans: "*Sen-I-jex-tee*" (Winans 1870); and the Jesuits of the St. Regis Provincial Mission, "*Snaichist*" or "*Snaichisti*" (Saint Regis Mission House Diary 1879; 1893).

[33] The term "*Sawthlelum-takut*" provided by the same old man and recorded by Ross is also an Okanagan-Colville expression; we recognize the latter part of this,"*-takut,*" as *t'ikw't*, the generic term for 'lake' in the Okanagan- Colville language, but it is not clear to us what was meant by the word *"sawthlelum."*

[34] Both terms provided by Boas — "*k'ilsenqatse¯a¯ʔluqten*" and "*snaii´tckstq̓*" — are very hard to read in his original, circa 1900 fieldnotes. Likely Boas meant "groundhog" when he wrote "gr____" beside "*k'ilsenqatse¯a¯ʔluqten,*" but the rest of the word following "gr____" is unintelligible. Boas implied that the Okanagan-Colville word translated as "gr____" is "*sqatsea¯ʔluk*" and it can be assumed that he meant *sxtl'utlhx*, which is in fact the Okanagan-Colville term for the yellow-bellied marmot (*Marmota flaviventris*), commonly referred to as a "groundhog." Thus we assume that Boas's (c.1900) transcription "*k'ilsenqatse¯a¯ʔluqten*" is

k'lsnxtl'utlhxtn which means 'at the groundhog place' in the Okanagan-Colville language. Elsewhere in these same fieldnotes, Boas (c.1900) transcribed the term *"snaii'tckstq"* which is clearly his rendering of *sngaytskstx.*

[35] Similar information was provided in 1925 by Revelstoke local historian and writer B.R. Atkins who noted that "from 'time immemorial' the Colville Indians considered Columbia River from Kettle Falls to Big Bend their rightful reserve" (Atkins 1925). Atkins's reference to "Colville" Indians here notwithstanding, his awareness that the Natives of the above-defined region were actually the Lakes people is indicated in an unpublished manuscript he wrote, where he transcribed the Okanagan-Colville name for the Lakes Indians (Atkins n.d.).

[36] We were unable to re-elicit the term *"sko¯kuntlque¯'tl"* (*"skookoncleu"*) either from Lakes-speaking or from Shuswap-speaking Native consultants (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b:81). As well, we have not been able to reconstruct this term linguistically, although Boas (c.1900) identified *"sko¯kuntlque¯'tl"* as an "Okanagan" [Okanagan-Colville] word. There *is* an Okanagan-Colville term *nk'wilx* which means 'fish go upstream' but this term does not seem to be the root of the word that Boas (c.1900) transcribed as *"sko¯kuntlque¯'tl"* and Moberly (1866:map) transcribed as *"skookoncleu."*

[37] Apparently the term *"tonkawatla"* was applied to this creek as early as 1911-1912 (Bridgland 1911-1912).

[38] Another Chinook jargon term, *tumwata*, which is derived from *tumtum* and literally means 'heart of a river,' was also applied to any strong rapids or waterfall (Johnson 1978).

[39] On still another occasion, Mary Marchand provided the Okanagan-Colville term *kt't'kwikn* (which she translated as 'slapping on ground') as another Lakes place name that her grandmother, Nancy, used to talk about. MM knew only that *kt't'kwikn* was located "somewhere around the Arrow Lakes." Mrs. Marchand was the sole source of the terms *nts'litkw* and *kt't'kwikn.*

[40] Archaeologist Peter Harrison (1961a) reported an extensive archaeological site along the north shore of the former mouth of Tonkawatla Creek.

[41] The one exception is Paul Kane's observation on October 10th, 1847 that he was very surprised to meet, that day at Boat Encampment, "Capote Blanc, the Sho-shawp [Shuswap] chief from Jasper's House, and two Indians who had come over to hunt" (Kane 1974:235).

[42] The late Aimee August, a Shuswap elder from Chase, confirmed for us the term that the late Joe Williams had provided, *sts'gil'xtn*, as the Shuswap name for Revelstoke; Mrs. August's sister, the late Adeline Willard, told us that she had heard *sts'gil'xtn* as a place name but did not know to which area it referred.

[43] There is a possibility that because of the imperfect sound quality of the tape recording of this interview, the transcription *sts'ek'kín* may not be exactly what the late Francis Thomas pronounced. Mr. Thomas said that *sts'ek'kín* means 'connected' in the sense that the Shuswap and Lakes people were "connected" or "came together" at Revelstoke (Lawhead and Thomas 1985:95). Notwithstanding, the late Joe Williams, Aimee August and Adeline Willard did not agree with this translation, and did not agree that *sts'ek'kín* was the Shuswap term for Revelstoke.

[44] Fleming did not say that the Shuswap utilized the area east from Three Valley Lake, although use of this region by both Lakes and Shuswap could be inferred from Fleming's (1884:299) statement that the trail along the Tonkawatla River was used by the Indians "for carrying cariboo and game over the mountains."

[45] The late Joe Williams did not recall the Shuswap name for Three Valley Lake (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985b:89). However the late Francis Thomas identified this place as *stektnú7tsas sxewkín íwetsa páselhkwas* ('on the other side of *sxewkín* [Griffin] lake') and identified several camping and fishing sites around Three Valley Lake that he, himself, had used (Lawhead and Thomas 1985:94).

[46] The *Victoria Daily Colonist* reprinted an item from the *Kootenay Star* in early October 1889 referring to Natives at Tonkawatla Creek, but did not identify these people:

> Complaint is made that the Siwashes [Native people] dam up Tum tum [Tonkawatla] Creek and thus take large quantities of fish, which they offer for sale, preventing the settlers from getting their usual supplies (*Victoria Daily Colonist 1889*).

[47] McAlpine Island was located on the former west side of the Columbia, south from the Big Eddy, and west from what is today Front Street in Revelstoke (English 1999: pers. comm.).

[48] In our August 1985 report, we cited the following statement made by another Revelstoke pioneer, Mrs. Marjorie Parker, in a 1977 interview, with reference to the early 1900s:

> Revelstoke was never a place for Indians, just moving through . . .they would go down to the Arrow Lakes, and these other tribes of Indians that came up from the Kootenay (Parker 1977).

We stated in 1985 that by this statement, Mrs. Parker "seemed to make a distinction between Lakes Indians and Kutenai" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:80). Giving this further consideration, and taking additional documentation into account, we now conclude that the Natives Mrs. Parker was referring to were actually Lakes, not Kutenai (Ktunaxa).

[49] If Cameron's distance estimate is correct, the area where the miners wintered was just upriver from where Mulvehall Creek formerly entered into the west side of the Columbia, and Drimmie Creek formerly entered into the east side.

[50] It is interesting to note that archaeologist Peter Harrison observed that the farthest-north evidence of winter dwellings was at Cape Horn Creek, about 40 Km (25 miles) south of the former north end of Upper Arrow Lake (Harrison 186lb).

[51] In his "Okanagan" fieldnotes, Boas (c.1900), transcribed this place name as "*xiusilqui'tk*," translated it as 'big water,' and underneath this term wrote the word "*si'lqoa*" which he translated as 'big.' It must be assumed then, that Boas's consultant was naming this river *selxwe7ítkw* which does mean 'big water' in the Okanagan-Colville language.

[52] It is not completely clear if the Lakes people's reason for not accompanying Moberly further during his 1865 Illecillewaet expedition was because they were not familiar with the country further east, or because they were worried about being trapped in this area by early snow. Moberly's account indicates the latter reason (Moberly 1866:7).

[53] There is a possibility that Ray relied on Teit for the actual *location* of the place known as *nk'mápeleḵs* but elicited the term, and the uses of this place, independently from his own Lakes consultant.

[54] Beaton was originally named "Thompson's Landing" after J.W. Thompson, one of the first settlers who came here in the mid-1880s (Picard 1926:21).

[55] Huckleberries (*Vaccinium membranaceum)*, known in the Okanagan-Colville language as *st'xalhḵ*, 'sweet fruit,' were and are a highly-valued berry to the Okanagan-Colville, and especially the Lakes people (Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:103-104).

[56] Other references exist to a campsite which was likely just north of Arrowhead. In 1825, fur trader Samuel Black identified a few Indians a short distance above Upper Arrow Lake. He noted in his diary entry of October 25th, 1825, that he "saw a lodge of Spokan Inds or Kettle Falls. They are only one family have a little dried meat" (Black 1823-1825). As we have discussed, it is very likely these "Spokane or Kettle Falls" Indians were in fact Lakes Indians. What may have been the same campsite was encountered by George Turner, who reported in November 1864 that "about 2 miles above the Upper Arrow Lake we came upon some Indians encamped, where we obtained some dried salmon and bear's meat" (Turner 1865).

[57] Johnson's opinion notwithstanding, observations of Native habitations here in the 1820s, together with reported finds of artifacts here, certainly suggest prehistoric occupation. On the other hand, the observed habitations could have been nearby, and not right at Arrowhead. Moreover, a more recent age for this site could be inferred from its Native name, *ḵwespíts'a7* ('buffalo robe'), which could suggest that the Okanagan-Colville name of

Arrowhead dates only to 1838 when the HBC post was built here, and that naming this place 'buffalo robe' was derived from a practice of obtaining buffalo robes here as a trading item — of course, this is only speculation.

[58] As discussed in our ethnobotanical study, saskatoon berries or serviceberries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), known as *síya7* were, and are, very important to the Okanagan-Colville people. They can be picked throughout July and, in some places, even into August and September. Our research determined that while at least eight varieties of saskatoons are known to the Northern and Similkameen Okanagan, it appears the Lakes, Colville and Sanpoil recognize only two varieties (Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:120-123). The tart berries of Oregon grape (*Berberis aquifolium*), known as *sts'ars* or *sts'erís*, were sometimes eaten raw or were mashed and dried (Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:85-87). According to Elmendorf (1935-1936:I:34), Oregon grape berries were mashed into cakes by the Lakes people but were "not used for much else."

[59] The *Kootenay Mail* on May 19th, 1894 published what it said was the full recorded testimony before the inquest (*Kootenay Mail* 1894a).

[60] The identification is clearly to the *sngaytskstx* (Lakes) as none of the other tribes settled on or near the Colville Reservation is known to have utilized the Arrow Lakes region.

[61] Archaeologist Peter Harrison had been told by local non-Native residents in 1961 that there were housepit depressions — which would have been evidence of the former presence of winter houses — in the vicinity of the Halcyon Hot Springs Hotel. However, his archaeology crew examined the area and could not find any trace of them. In fact, Harrison reported, no housepit depressions were found anywhere along old Upper Arrow Lake any farther north than Cape Horn Creek, which is located about 12 miles [approximately 20 Km] below Halcyon Hot Springs (Harrison 1961a; 1961b).

[62] Local historian Kate Johnson reported that Fosthall "gets its name from a clerk of that name in the employ of the Hudson Bay fur-trading post there in the early days of white settlement. Foundation timbers of old buildings were seen around 1890 between the present house and the creek at the south end of the bay" (Johnson 1964:178). However, we found no reference to a post at this location, or to anyone named Fosthall employed by the HBC, during the course of our own research with Hudson's Bay Company records. At our request, Ms. Anne Morton, Reference Archivist at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, has recently searched these HBC records again. Morton confirms that no person named Fosthall ever worked for the HBC in this District, and that no post named Fosthall was ever established under HBC auspices here (Morton 1999: pers. comm.). Other sources do indicate that some minor fur trading in this area was done by other people not connected to the HBC. While the foundation timbers referred to by Kate Johnson likely existed, the identity of the building that once stood on them is not known. The local lore recorded by Johnson notwithstanding, there is no evidence that there was ever a Hudson's Bay Company post at Fosthall.

[63] The Indian man who provided Cox with this information was named "Paulet" and was very likely a Lakes person. This same man told Cox that the Arrow Lakes Indians were "very far off and scattered in small hunting & fishing parties," so Cox hired him on September 30th, 1861 to "take his bark canoe and one of my crew on tomorrow & proceed to the place where the Lake Indians are encamped inform them of my presence and great desire to see them ." Cox commented that he had previously met "Paulet's" wife at Fort Kamloops (Cox 1861) (see also the discussion of Brilliant that follows).

[64] Presumably Paint Lake was accessible to the Natives both by way of Fosthall Creek and by way of tributaries to Pingston Creek.

[65] Clark Marshall (1982:8) wrote that Victor Joseph, one of the oldest sons of Louis Joseph, also trapped the Mosquito Creek trapline.

[66] Clark Marshall (1999a) notes that he went to school in Burton with two of Louis Joseph's sons, Joe and Martin.

[67] An article in the *Kootenay Mail* in 1895 reported that a settler landed at Fire Valley (Inonaoklin Creek Valley) in the fall of 1894 with supplies for the winter, and subsequently disappeared. The newspaper reported that it was thought this settler had been murdered by aboriginal people as "some of the most vicious ones were known to have been in that vicinity" (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a). No reference was made in this article to the ethnicity of these Native people.

[68] Although Indian Reserves had been set aside for the Upper and Lower Kutenai people in 1884, no Reserves were allotted to them west of Creston (see Section 6.0 of the present report). The Kutenai Indian Agent later indicated that the Department did not know that any Native people were on the Arrow Lakes at this time, and Indian Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly did not visit the Arrow Lakes following his allotment of the Lower Kutenai Reserve near Creston.

[69] The article reported an interpretation of the Arrow Lakes' Indians' history, with Galbraith, who seemed to supply the information for the article, likely the source. It stated that:

> The history of the Arrow Lake Indians is interesting. In the early days, there was a tribe or small band known as the Fort Sheppard [Shepherd] Indians, located at Fort Sheppard, and made the old Hudson Bay Fort their headquarters. After the closure of the post [in 1871] these Indians scattered, some going to the Colville Reservation and others to the Okanagans, and were absorbed by those bands. Those remaining on the river are the remnants of a band which made Arrow Lake and vicinity their hunting ground. They are desirous of having a small reservation set apart for them south and east of Burton City and Mr. Galbraith will place the matter before the Indian department and the provincial government, and endeavour to have their request complied with (*Rossland Miner* 1902).

[70] This is not consistent with information given by Baptiste Christian's brother, Alexander Christian, that the Christian family had asked him at this time to have a separate Reserve allotted for them at the mouth of the Kootenay River, where they had their homes (A.Christian 1914) (this issue is treated separately in the discussion of Brilliant that follows).

[71] The sketch in question is undated, but it has a receipt stamp from the "Office of Indian Superintendent" on it dated May 6th, 1902 (Arrow Lake Indian Reserve Sketch n.d.). It is written in Galbraith's distinctive handwriting. Given the recorded timing of Galbraith's visit to the area at the end of April, it is evident that the sketch was prepared by him at that time.

[72] Galbraith added that "the Indians live and work along the river from Trail Creek to Revelstoke and it is difficult to get a message to them" (Galbraith 1902c).

[73] Vowell's imminent arrival in the area for the purpose of establishing this Arrow Lake Indian Reserve was reported on October 2nd, 1902 in the *Nelson Daily News*:

> R.L.T. Galbraith, Indian Agent for the Kootenays, was in the city [Nelson] yesterday. Mr. Galbraith is on his way to Robson, where he will meet A.W. Vowell, superintendent of Indian Affairs for the province, and proceed up the Arrow lakes to lay out a new Indian reserve. This will be located along the shores of the lake, and is for the use of a band of Indians known as the Arrow Lake Indians, and composed of about thirty members under chief Batiste [Baptiste Klome] (*Nelson Daily News* 1902b).

[74] Vowell stated that "the only portion that will be of any use to the Indians is a narrow strip on the shore of the lake, the whole of which is densely covered with alder, willow, poplar and birch of small size. Of this about thirty acres are subject to overflow at extreme high water in June, but when cleared would be valuable as meadow land. Another thirty acres are suitable for gardens; the remainder, although stony in places is well adapted for fruit" (Vowell 1902b).

[75] Years later, on March 24th, 1915, the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs re-confirmed the Arrow Lake Reserve at 255 acres for the "Arrow Lake Tribe" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1916:II:367, 370).

[76] Subsequent departmental reports prepared by Galbraith added some additional detail, but persisted in viewing these people as Shuswaps. Thus, the 1908 report stated that "These Indians are Shuswaps and came from the Okanagan country several years ago and have since then lived on the Columbia River and Arrow Lakes" (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1908:238). The 1910 report stated that "These Indians are Shuswaps, who married into a Kootenay family that settled on the Arrow Lakes (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1910:229). This latter point was itself inconsistent with Galbraith's later 1914 statement to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, referring to the same Indians (living near Burton/Oatscott) that "I also found that these Indians had married women of the Colville Nation" (Galbraith 1914).

[77] Galbraith very likely repeated his views of the Arrow Lake people's supposed origins from Fort Shepherd to the newspaper reporter who wrote the following note in the January 1st, 1904 Nelson newspaper:

> R.L.T. Galbraith, who looks after the interests of the Indians of the Kootenays, came in yesterday from East Kootenay on his way to Nakusp to visit the tribe of Indians who recently migrated to that section from near Fort Sheppard [Shepherd]. The band is composed of about thirty Indians who make a living by hunting and fishing, selling the products to the steamers on the Arrow lakes (*Nelson Daily News* 1904a).

[78] Although William Mosely in 1965 said that he recalled Louie Joseph's parents being very old people in the 1920s (Mosely 1965), it is more likely that Mosely remembered Cariboo John and his wife, also named Catherine (who were listed on the 1903 census as aged 54 and 50 respectively). Moreover, as Galbraith (1914) stated, Louie Joseph's father had died some years prior to 1914.

[79] As we discuss in the Section of the present report concerning attempts to establish an Indian Reserve at Brilliant, the Christian family at the Kootenay/Columbia confluence was considered to be part of the Arrow Lake Indian Band, and it was expected they would join the others at Oatscott. Indeed, Galbraith stated on April 30th, 1902 that Baptiste Christian "expressed willingness" to go to the Oatscott Reserve (Galbraith 1902a). This is surprising, considering the statement made to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs on June 25th, 1914, by Baptiste's brother, Alexander Christian. Alex said that he, his father, Christian (who had died in the late 1890s), and his brother, Baptiste had been speaking to the Indian Department "for about sixteen years" (i.e. since about 1898), asking that an Indian Reserve be set aside for them at their "old home" at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia. Alex Christian's claim that his people were "promised a reserve" here (Christian 1914) is supported by the existing documentation.

[80] An August 1909 Revelstoke newspaper article referred to the Indians of the Burton area as an "almost extinct tribe, there being but 20 odd left" (*Revlestoke Mail-Herald* 1909).

[81] The daughters subsequently married members of other Bands and became members of those Bands.

[82] Such reversion, which had been long claimed by the Province of British Columbia, had been part of the McKenna-McBride agreement signed between the Governments of Canada and British Columbia on September 24th, 1912. One of the terms of this agreement provided that Reserves must be conveyed back to the Province if and when a Band became "extinct":

> The lands comprised in the Reserves as finally fixed by the Commissioners aforesaid shall be conveyed by the Province to the Dominion with full power to the Dominion to deal with the said lands in such manner as they may deem best suited for the purposes of the Indians, including a right to sell the said lands and fund or use the proceeds for the benefit of

> the Indians, subject only to a condition that in the event of any Indian tribe or band in British Columbia at some future time becoming extinct, then any lands within the territorial boundaries of the province which have been conveyed to the Dominion as aforesaid for such tribe or band, and not sold or disposed of as herein-before mentioned, or any unexpected funds being the proceeds of any Indian Reserve in the Province of British Columbia, shall be conveyed to the Province [emphasis added] (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1916:II:10-11).

This same provision was re-affirmed when the Indian Reserves in B.C. were formally conveyed to the Dominion of Canada under the authority of Provincial Order In Council No. 1036 on July 29th, 1938 (British Columbia 1938). Many years later, the Province would relinquish its rights to further reconveyance of Reserve lands under PCOC 1036, through PCOC 1555 of May 13th, 1969.

[83] Following reversion, the former Indian Reserve became provincial Crown land. Some of this land was flooded during the construction of the High Arrow [Keenleyside] Dam project.

[84] We noted in 1985 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:95-96) that we found it interesting that the term *mímelt* appears in this place name, *nmímeltm*, as we had only recorded *mímelt* as the Northern Okanagan word for 'whitefish,' yet neither our Lakes nor our Colville Native consultants used the term *mímelt* for 'whitefish.' Having considered this further, we now add the following information, beginning with the fact that in our 1975 Colville fishing study, we had actually provided the Native names for *two* species of whitefish — the lake whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis)* and the mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*). We recorded the name for the lake whitefish, in the Colville (*sxweyí7lhp*) dialect of the Okanagan-Colville language, as *yáyleks* ('thick nose'), and the mountain whitefish, in the same dialect, as *xwexwiy'útsn* ('sharp-pointed mouth') (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:12-13).This latter term had been recorded by Teit in 1908 as the Lakes term for 'whitefish', together with another term, "*tcɛtɛlkwaikst,*" (Doak 1983:70-71) that we do not recognize. We cannot explain these apparent discrepancies.

[85] Harrison's spelling of the man's name on the site form is not very clear.

[86] Ranald McDonald 's letter stated that much more recently, he had "questioned Big Head Edward, the chief of the Lake Indians. He told me there was such a place, not speaking the language I could get no further information" (McDonald 1890). The newspaper article said that Macdonald had:

> frequently questioned trappers and prospectors regarding them [the arrow holes], none of whom had ever heard of them and he began to think it was all imagination on his part until he met Big Head Edward, chief of the Lake Indians, a few years ago, who told him he had frequently seen them, but, Indian like, he had very little to say about them (*Kootenay Star* 1890b).

[87] Although we had provided the transcription of this term in 1985 as "*smoiss*" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:112), we have reviewed the original Cox document again and determined that the actual transcription is "*smoip,*" and not "*smoiss.*"

[88] Mr. Frank Webster, who provided this information, presently lives in Robson. He was born in 1912, came to the Castlegar/Robson area in 1918, and lived from 1918-1964 adjacent to the area where the High Arrow [Keenleyside] Dam was built. Mr. Webster recalls the activities of Alexander Christian (a well known Lakes Indian man) in the 1920s in this general area (see the discussion that follows).

[89] A number of archaeological sites have been recorded from the vicinity of Renata all the way down Lower Arrow Lake and along the Columbia River to the Brilliant/Castlegar area, almost all of them on the north side of the lake and

river. Indeed, this stretch of the lake and river appears to contain the greatest concentration of archaeological sites anywhere in traditional Lakes territory (Turnbull 1977: Figures 1, 2).

[90] Mr. Quintasket repeated this identification independently in a 1986 interview with another researcher. He stated that "they had one place there named after the bitter root. It was called Ca-pi-tals, far as I know that was Castlegar" (Quintasket 1986). Charlie Quintasket's statement concerning Castlegar reflects what we commented on in 1985 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:113), that is, our Lakes consultants used the term *kp'ítl'els* to refer to Castlegar as well as Brilliant. We believe that Mr. Quintasket is the only Native person who has associated the meaning of this place name with bitterroot. While Ray (1936b:125) did identify the Brilliant area as a Lakes base for digging roots, he did not specify what roots were dug here.

[91] "*Mikichlore*" is a transcription of the name of a Lakes chief transcribed in 1878 as "*Melchior*" (Simms 1878), in 1882 as "*Mechior*" (Caruana 1882), and in 1886-1887 as "*Melture*" (Picard 1926).

[92] For example, many years earlier, his Indian name had been transcribed as "Gregoire Kessouilih" and he had been identified as the "Chief of the Lakes" (Demers 1839a). In 1865, Walter Moberly identified "Gregoire" as leader of the "Columbia River Indians" (Moberly 1865b). In 1873, in a "Statement of Articles issued as presents to the Indians on August 11th, and 12th, 1873," the Lake Chief was identified as "Greg-wah" (Statement of Articles 1873). Winans' 1870 census also identified "Gregoire Kis-a-wee-likh" as the "Head Chief" of the "Sen-I- jex-tee or Lake Indians" (Winans 1870). A fuller listing of these identifications can be found in our list of Lakes Chiefs, which appears as Table 2 in Section 8 of the present study.

[93] On August 6th, 1868, HBC employee James Bissett observed Aboriginal people at the mouth of the Kootenay River "engaged here curing Salmon for winter use" (Bissett 1868). He made no explicit identification of the Natives' ethnicity however.

[94] The 1881 Kootenay Indian census was actually made in April 1882, by Father Leon Fouquet at St. Eugene Mission. To avoid confusion, however, we cite the census by its commonly known year of issue, 1881.

[95] From Sanderson's description, it seems that they may have been cutting hay on the land immediately south of the Kootenay and east of the Columbia, on Waterloo Flats (the site of present-day Ootischenia).

[96] Another Kutenai term associated with the Kootenay/ Columbia confluence has been provided by three sources that we are aware of — all of them recent. The term in question is said to be the Kutenai name for Castlegar, translated as 'two rivers meet.' This term appeared initially as "*kik'siłuk*" (without a translation) (Anon.c.1995), then as "*kiktisuk*" ('two rivers meet') (Coull 1996:103), and most recently as "*k'iksiłuk*" (without a translation) (Keefer and McCoy 1999:56).

[97] Despite the relationship between the Arrow Lake and Kootenay mouth groups, relations between them may have been somewhat strained. In 1908, Baptiste Christian informed Kootenay Indian Agent Galbraith that he did not get along well with the Arrow Lake people, and for that reason, wanted a separate Reserve at the Kootenay mouth and inquired if any vacant land could be purchased near Castlegar (Galbraith 1908a).

[98] These people were: Baptiste Christian, chief; Sophie Christian, his wife; their children Paschal and Agnes; Aleck Christian, Baptiste's brother; Theresa, Aleck's wife; their children, Julie and Mary; Mary Christian, Baptiste's sister; Frank Abbott, known as "*nłaúxa*", Mary's husband; and Antoinette ("*tsalotêllks*"), the mother of Baptiste, Aleck and Mary. Antoinette's husband had, as of 1909, been dead for twelve years and was buried at this site (Teit n.d.).

[99] Of course these Lakes Indian people were also intermarried with Native American Lakes people living in the United States. As Julia Quintasket pointed out to us, Alex Christian's wife Theresa was the sister of James Bernard, who was acknowledged as the Chief of the Lakes on the Colville Reservation, and who was the source of

Verne Ray's Lakes data.

[100] This family was remembered by some of the Lakes people who we interviewed in the 1970s and 1980s. Mary Marchand remembered "Antoinee" [Antoinette Christian], a Lakes woman from Castlegar, who was the mother of Baptiste and Alex Christian, and recalled her own mother going to the funeral at Castlegar of Antoinette Christian's daughter Mary (who had been one of Teit's sources of Lakes data). Julia Quintasket also remembered Antoinette Christian, was very familiar with the genealogy of the Christian family, and recalled Antoinette Christian telling her the story of how she got "beat out" of her land at *kp'ítl'els*.

[101] In archaeologist James Baker's opinion, stated in 1984, the archaeological site at Brilliant is "by far the largest" in this area. Baker noted that a test sample from this site "yielded information that shows occupation of the site from at least 4,500 years ago to the present" which, apparently, is among the earliest datings yet available for any site in traditional Lakes territory (Baker 1984:5-3,6-6).

[102] Elmendorf thought that the "Forks of Columbia" referred to the first major fork encountered in Canadian territory, at the confluence of the Columbia and the Pend'Oreille at Waneta, and mistakenly identified *"kpi't'ɬs"* as Waneta (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:47).

[103] According to Mrs. Wynecoop, a Spokane Indian man once visited the Lakes at *"kpi't'ls"* and bragged that nothing could kill him. So "a Lakes shot him with an arrow & killed him as he boasted" (Elmendorf 1935- 1936:I:47).

[104] The source of this document is as follows: "Statement of Alexander Christian," prepared by James Teit (October 1913?). Original held by the American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Boas Collection 372.1, Roll 48, Item S 1b.7 (microfilm copy held by the B.C. Archives and Records Service, Victoria, Add. Mss. 1425, Microfilm A-262). This document is part of what we reference here as "Teit n.d."

[105] Nothing in Turney-High or Schaeffer's available data contradicts this information. Indeed, their data tends to corroborate the information recorded from the Lakes people. Turney-High's story about the people living at "the southern tip of Arrow Lake," recorded in 1939, indicated that the descendants of these people lived there until "a relatively recent date" (Turney-High 1941:24). No one is known to have lived at the southern tip of Arrow Lake in recent times, but the people who lived very close to it — at the mouth of the Kootenay — had lived there until approximately twenty years before Turney-High recorded his data. Nor do early 20th century governmental records suggest that Lower Kutenai people lived this far west. Agent Galbraith indicated in 1914 the groups of Creston Kutenai who lived off of the Reserve. Five families lived east of the Reserve on Duck Creek, on lands which their ancestors had inhabited for generations (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:135, 136, 138). Three families were noted as living west of the Kootenay River, in Section 28, Township 7 (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:137). No other Lower Kutenai groups were recorded by Galbraith as living west of the Kootenay River.

[106] Ironically, Indian Agency Inspector A. Megraw, in a report of July 24th, 1915, criticized the Royal Commission for *endorsing* Christian's statement, and disputed the Lakes' affiliation with the area at all. He stated that the Band at the Kootenay mouth had not been not allotted a Reserve at the time O'Reilly allotted the Kootenay Reserves in 1884, and that they were "Nomads and distinctively American in their affiliations" (Megraw 1915c). Megraw's knowledge of this group's history, set out in his report, was incomplete, inaccurate, and biased (see also the discussion that follows).

[107] After her husband's death Annie Joseph had got together with an Okanagan man, Joseph Parker, and moved to his home on Okanagan I.R. 1, just north-west of Vernon (Coleman 1936).

[108] Reference to the March 8th, 1911 funeral of "Marie Ann Christian" was made in the Nelson newspaper on March 10th, 1911 (this same article referred to her brother as Baptiste Christian). It was noted that Marie Ann was "interred in the family burying ground overlooking the junction of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers" (*Nelson Daily News* 1911).

[109] In 1895, an area just west of Castlegar, across from Robson also appears to have been valued by the *sngaytskstx*; it was reported that:

> Alex. McCleary had a ranch on the west side of the Columbia — nearly opposite Sproat's Landing, and run the ferry across the river. Several Indians came up the river with horses, and coming to his fences threw them down and crossed his fields, throwing down the opposite fences, when they turned their horses loose and let them destroy McCleary's crops. Judge Sproat sent a Constable across who brought several Indians over to have a conference and settlement. He gave them a very decided talk, telling them that the land belonged to McLeary and they must let it alone. It had the effect of not having any further trouble that season (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

The reference to the aboriginal people coming from downriver with horses suggests they were Lakes.

[110] This correspondence included, but was not limited to, the issue of securing the Brilliant area at the mouth of the Kootenay as a Reserve for Baptiste and his family (see the discussion that follows). The replies to that correspondence, which make some reference to the content of the original letters, are contained in the surviving letterbooks from the Kootenay Agency. Unfortunately, not all years of these letterbooks have survived, and many of Agent Galbraith's letters in the surviving volumes are no longer legible because the letterbooks had deteriorated markedly, principally through water damage, before being microfilmed.

[111] Galbraith treated Baptiste similar to a Chief under the Indian Act as well. He informed Baptiste directly that "it is your duty to try and stop your friends when they do wrong, and if they will not listen to you, you should go to the Government Officers who will always help to make them do right. You should stop the whiskey drinking and use your influence to make your people obey the law in that respect" (Galbraith 1907b).

[112] His given English name was also sometimes recorded as "Alec," and the family's surname was sometimes recorded as "Christie."

[113] Baptiste Christian was recognized as the Chief of this community, and the records indicate that he and Galbraith communicated on other issues, so presumably he was the source of this information (it appears that the Kootenay Agency Letterbook for 1910 has not survived).

[114] Presumably Mr. Hirst was not aware that the site at Brilliant where the Christian family lived was part of a 198-acre parcel of land known as District Lot 9, Group 1, that had been Crown-granted to J.C. Haynes in 1884 (British Columbia 1884; Crown Grant No. 308).

[115] Galbraith's comments notwithstanding, he did state that "Colville Indians" in the early days "had been in the habit of ascending the Columbia river to fish and hunt," and that in 1871 he had "found a small band of Gregoire [Lakes] Indians" in this area (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:84).

[116] Elsewhere in his unpublished notes, Teit wrote that "B.C. government officials" had taken the position that the Lakes were "American Indians from the Colville Reservation, and interlopers in B.C." Teit stated these officials were "entirely wrong":

> ...there being no more reason to deny the rights of people in B.C., than Okanagan and Kootenay which tribes also inhabited both sides of the line. Later their [the Lakes'] rights have been partly recognized by setting aside a small reservation for them near Burton, but the Canadian Indian Department classes them [the Indians at Burton] as Shuswap which is quite misleading (Teit 1910-1913).

In his published monograph, Teit stated that as of about 1909, most of the Lakes Indians living along the Columbia north of the international border:

> owing to nonrecognition of their rights by the Canadian Government and to recent pressure

> of white settlement. . . have followed the example of other members of their band... and have gone to the United States, where they have been granted land on the Colville Reservation (Teit 1930b:212).

[117] It seems clear that the "reserve" Galbraith referred to here was not the 1861 Cox reserve or the 1865 Dewdney reserve, but the "Haynesville" townsite that had been surveyed on Lot 9 in 1886. The Haynesville plan would not be officially cancelled until May 1913 (Haynesville 1886; 1913).

[118] We have reviewed documentation pertaining to the Haynes estate but these materials do not contain information about this Indian Reserve. It is interesting to note that Peter O'Reilly, who as Indian Reserve Commissioner had set aside the initial Indian Reserves for the Lower and Upper Kutenai in 1884, had been named on May 18th, 1887 as one of the executors of J.C. Haynes' estate. Mr. Haynes died on July 6th, 1888 but in October 1888, Peter O'Reilly asked to have his name removed as one of the executors, and this was so ordered by the Supreme Court of British Columbia (Haynes 1887-1913).

[119] James Teit would later tell the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa that he, Teit, was the person who had brought this matter to McDougall's attention "on behalf of these Indians" (Teit 1912a).

[120] Our review of the available documents associated with this estate indicates that it was not until April 25th, 1912 that Lot 9 Group 1 (the Brilliant site) was conveyed from the Haynes estate to the following 6 "surviving children and heirs-at-law": Valentine C. Haynes, Hester E. White, William Barrington Haynes, Irene Margaret Parkinson, Susan Jane Gardom, and John Sherman Haynes (Haynes 1887-1913). Presumably these were also the same 6 heirs referred to by Galbraith in June 1910.

[121] Clearly the "Registered Townsite" referred to by Galbraith was "Haynesville" which had been surveyed in 1886 (Haynesville 1886). The Haynesville townsite plan *was* in fact cancelled, but this did not happen until almost 3 years later, in May 1913. While the heirs of the Haynes estate had sold the majority of Lot 9 to Peter Verigin of Brilliant in May 1912 (British Columbia 1912), it appears that the Haynesville plan could not be cancelled until Mr. Verigin was able to purchase an adjacent property, Lot 8, which was not possible until 1913. Thus, on May 26th, 1913, Judge J.A. Forin of the West Kootenay County Court, Nelson, ordered that both Lots 8 and 9 be "vested in Peter Verigin of the settlement of Brilliant ...leader of the Doukhabour Society...". The Judge also ordered that the 1886 Haynesville townsite plan be cancelled (Haynesville 1913).

[122] Very likely Teit's statement reportedly sent "last year" is the 4-page "Statement of Alexander Christian" tentatively dated October 1913 which we have already cited here in its entirety, in the draft form in which it appears in Teit's (n.d.) fieldnotes.

[123] On this same date, March 24th, 1915, the Arrow Lake Indian Reserve was officially confirmed at 255 acres for the "Arrow Lake Tribe" by a Royal Commission "Minute of Decision" (British Columbia 1916:II:367, 370).

[124] It appears that at least some non-Natives in Castlegar were aware that an Indian Reserve had been proposed for the Brilliant area. For example, Ross DeFoe recalled that when he first came to this area in 1909, there were a "bunch of Indians camped there [at the Brilliant site]" and that "there used to be an Indian Reserve down in there" (DeFoe 1964).

[125] Peter Verigin, who had purchased Lot 9 here at the north side of the Kootenay/Columbia confluence in May 1912, conveyed this Lot to the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Limited (with its head office in Saskatchewan) in April 1921 (British Columbia 1912; 1921).

[126] Independently, Charlie Quintasket also applied the term *kp'ítl'els* to Castlegar in an interview conducted by another researcher in 1986 (Quintasket 1986).

[127] Likely this is a reference to wild tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*) which formerly grew in several areas throughout Okanagan-Colville territory. This species was known in the Okanagan-Colville language as "*sman'xw*" — the same

term is now applied to cultivated tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) (Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:140).

[128] In any case, we were mistaken in our 1985 report (see Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:38,113) when we identified this site where Cox camped as Shields [Moberly] Creek, which was, and is, located within the lower end of Lower Arrow Lake, about 13 miles (approximately 21 Km) west from Castlegar.

[129] Zuckerberg Island, just offshore from Castlegar, has also been identified by local residents as having been used by the Lakes (although we are aware of no ethnographic or ethnohistoric sources that make any explicit reference to a settlement on the island). Ross DeFoe said that when he arrived in 1909, there were signs that indigenous people used to winter on Zuckerberg Island (DeFoe 1964). John A. Charters, a long-time Castlegar resident, published an article on the island in 1987 which stated that:

> the island was known and used by the Lakes people of the Interior Salish Indians as a salmon-fishing area and winter campground for hundreds, possibly thousands of years; their winter pit houses are found all over the island. Even into the early 1930s, small nomadic bands still used the island's long south spit to build their racks and dry their salmon, while one decaying kukuli, or winter lodge, still remained in the island's sheltered yew woods (Charters 1987).

Mr. Charters' article was not referenced, and the source of his information is not known to us, although archaeologist James Baker (1981:30) noted that archaeological remains here "could represent . . . a large pit house village."

[130] Galbraith subsequently indicated that Sproat did not own the land where Joseph was squatting, but that his land was farther north, around Robson (Galbraith 1910a). Galbraith was correct — as we have discussed, the land on the north side of the Kootenay/Columbia confluence, at the place that came to be known as Brilliant, identified as District Lot 9, Group 1 of the Kootenay Land Districrt, was owned not by Sproat but by John Carmichael Haynes who first applied to purchase it in April 1883. This 198-acre parcel of land was surveyed for Haynes on October 18th, 1884 (Patterson 1884), and Crown-granted to Haynes on December 17th, 1884 (British Columbia 1884: Crown Grant No. 308).

[131] Local settler Ethel Askew recalled hearing that a grave of a person said to be Indian Alex's wife was located at Sandy Island near Trail. She heard from Graham Hurst that Alex had buried his wife "in front of the face of a rock on the beach, between the old road which led upriver (Sunningdale) and the Columbia River." The rock was subsequently dynamited in the 1950s when the road to Sunningdale was paved (Trail History and Heritage Committee 1997: 109) (see also the information provided by Mr. Frank Webster concerning Alex Christian's wife's grave said to have been upriver from Castlegar).

[132] The creek in question could as well have been either Trail Creek, which empties into the Columbia in the center of town, or Gorge Creek, at the southern end of Trail.

[133] Sullivan was going east, in the direction of Kannenaskis Pass, so he would likely have been looking for a Flathead/ Pend d'Oreille Indian person as a guide, although he never explicitly identified the guide's ethnicity, either in the journal or in his dairy. The diary entry for September 18th, 1859, when the guide joined the party, noted that "Mr. Margary arrived in the evening, bringing the guide and a Kootanie Indian" (Sullivan, in Spry 1968:585). This suggests that the guide was not Kutenai, but does not otherwise indicate his ethnicity.

[134] Years later, Indian Agent Galbraith recalled that these Indian people (the Lakes) formerly made Fort Shepherd their camping ground (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1904:253).

[135] Teit (1930b:211) gave the term "*nkole¯ʔlatk*" as the Lakes name for the lower Pend d'Oreille River, stating that it was derived "from the name of a place at the mouth." Teit's transcription is interesting — his "*nkole¯ʔlatk*" appears to be a variation of *nkw'lilaʔítkw*, the Okanagan-Colville term which means ' *nkw'líla* - water.' However, Teit's form

suggests that what he actually wrote would be transcribed as "*nkw'lila7átkw*," which appears to use the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead suffix for 'water' (*-átkw*) rather than the Okanagan-Colville one (*-ítkw*).

[136] However, a recently-published summary of Kalispel ethnography by anthropologist Sylvester Lahren (1998:283-284) — based primarily on the late Allan Smith's Kalispel research — places the Kalispel boundary further down the Pend d'Oreille River, at the place where the Salmo River flows into the Pend d'Oreille. The Salmon/Pend d'Oreille confluence is about 2 miles (approximately 3 Km) north of the International Border, and approximately 10 miles (about 17 Km) east upstream from where the Pend d'Oreille empties into the Columbia (see also Section 5 of the present report).

[137] Several sources refer to the old graves at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille. Graham (1963:154) reported a statement by Matthew Hill, who came to the Pend d'Oreille Valley in 1892, that skulls were found in a sand bank "at Waneta" where builders were excavating for a hotel built in 1894. Undoubtably this was a reference to the Waneta Hotel, built in 1893-1894 about "three or four hundred yards" south from the railway bridge across the Pend d'Oreille River mouth (Graham 1963:154; E. Turnbull 1988:26-27; Beaver Valley and Pend d'Oreille Historical Society 1997:30; Reeves 2002:40). Teit (1898-1910) indicated in a May 20th, 1909 letter that he had been told there was an "old Indian graveyard" at *nkw'lí7a7* and that a "good many skeletons ... and grave goods" had been uncovered here when a house was being built. He added that "the people living there think there are more burials remaining which are not disturbed." While Teit did not identify this house's — and therefore this graveyard's — location in his 1909 letter, he did state elsewhere that the village and associated burial grounds of *nkw'lí7a7* were located just north of the Pend d'Oreille mouth (Teit 1930b:209). It is therefore likely that the site Teit referred to was the same place where in 1895 several dwellings were indicated; this was immediately north of the north side of the Pend d'Oreille mouth (British Columbia 1895). These dwellings comprised the non-aboriginal settlement known as Waneta.

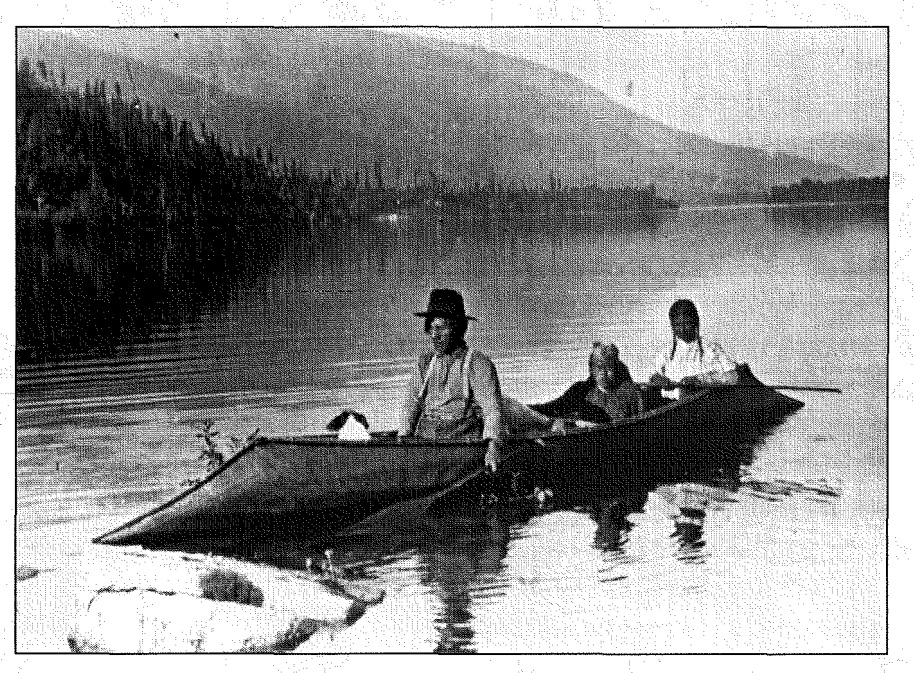
[138] Gold had been discovered on the Pend d'Oreille River in 1854 by Joseph Morrell, a teamster employed by Chief Trader Angus MacDonald of the Hudson Bay Company's Fort Colville (Oakshott 1960:6).

[139] Descriptions of the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille had been provided earlier, in May 1817 and October 1824, but neither of these sources referred to Natives at this site at those times, which suggests the village was occupied seasonally. In May 1817, the trader Ross Cox, travelling up the Columbia, described the mouth of the "Flat-head River" — as he called the Pend d'Oreille — in some detail, but made no observations about Natives here at that time (Cox 1957:274). George Simpson, travelling down the Columbia in October 1824, also described the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille, yet made no reference to Natives there at that time (Simpson 1824-1825:23d).

[140] Justine "*Su-steel*" was born in 1842 and died in 1918 (Fry family n.d.). Justine's father was a Lakes Indian man named Harry "*Swasticken*" (Fry family n.d.) [also spelled "*Soqu-stik-en*" (Putnam 1954:7)], and her mother, Hariette, was also Lakes (Fry family n.d.). Justine was reportedly from a village "where the Lake Indians from farther north spent their winters" that was said to have been located across the Columbia River from what later became Old Marcus, Washington [just upriver from Kettle Falls] (Putnam 1954:7). Very likely this reference is to the village at the place called *lhektsín* (an Okanagan-Colville term meaning 'brushy area at edge; mouth'), now inundated, on the former north bank of the Columbia River, directly across from Old Marcus. This village was well known as a place where the Lakes people wintered — indeed, Mary Marchand noted that her grandmother's parents used to winter at *lhektsín* (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:387-388).

[141] In 1864, the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille was actively being mined by Chinese miners (Tolmie 1864).

AREA S: SLOCAN



4.0 AREA S: SLOCAN

This region of the overall study area extends from the confluence of the Slocan and Kootenay Rivers, up to the head end of Slocan Lake (see Map 4).

4.1 NATIVE USE OF THE SLOCAN REGION

"Slocan" is an anglicization of the Okanagan-Colville term *slhu7k̲íṅ* which is applied to the entire Slocan region, including Slocan River and Slocan Lake (Teit 1930b:211; Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:97-98).[1] Teit (1930b:211) stated that the term *"sɬoke'n" (slhu7k̲íṅ)* was "probably from the name of a locality within the district," but we are aware of no *specific* site known as *slhu7k̲íṅ*. Rather, *slhu7k̲íṅ* seems to have a more generic reference.

None of the ethnohistoric or ethnographic sources that we are aware of (see preceding endnote) has provided a translation of *slhu7k̲íṅ*. However, the late Mary Marchand, one of our Native Lakes consultants, translated *slhu7k̲íṅ* as 'pierce, strike on head,' and indicated that it was derived from the Lakes' practice of "spearing" (harpooning) salmon.[2] This is consistent with Teit's (1930b:210) statement that "salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district...".

Very little information has been recorded about the traditional Native use of the Slocan region, although there is a consensus in the literature that the Slocan was part of Lakes territory.[3] Few ethnohistoric references to the Slocan region exist from the 1800s;[4] it appears that fur traders did not commonly pass through the area.[5] However several fur traders did record passing the mouth of the Slocan while travelling along the Kootenay River.

Only Teit has recorded significant data about the traditional use and occupancy of the Slocan region. Yet even Teit recorded comparatively little information about the Slocan, contrasted to data he elicited about other areas within overall Lakes territory. And we cannot always tell if the Slocan-region place names that Ray (1936b) recorded were merely retranscribed from Teit's (1930b) published list, or were elicited independently, even though Ray, himself, stated with reference to his general use of Teit's data:

> In the Salish [Interior Salish] lists [of villages] for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite (Ray 1936b:120).

The fact that much of Ray's Slocan data is referenced to Teit suggests that Ray's Lakes consultant, Chief James Bernard, had less knowledge of the Slocan region than other parts of overall Lakes territory.[6]

Elmendorf (1935-1936) recorded no data about the Slocan region from his Lakes consultant, and the Lakes people we interviewed in the 1970s and 1980s (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a) knew relatively little about this region.[7]

While Lakes ethnographers have recorded a small amount of data about the traditional use of the Slocan region, very little data concerning Kutenai traditional use of this same region has been recorded by Kutenai ethnographers. Teit did record that when the Kutenai were on good terms with the Lakes, Kutenai parties traditionally came to the mouth of the Slocan to buy fish from the Lakes people (*sngaytskstx*). But Teit made it clear that the Kutenai were coming to and using the

area as guests of the Lakes, in the same way that the Lakes were guests of the Kutenai when they travelled to the Creston area to do some trading with the Kutenai and to engage them in games (Teit 1930b:253). So important was this Slocan River mouth fishery that around 1800 there was a "war" between the Kutenai and Lakes when the Kutenai tried unsuccessfully to drive the Lakes away from this area and take control of this fishery (Teit 1930b:258).

Turney-High's (1941:51) published map of traditional Kutenai territory included the Slocan Lake area, but he recorded no information about any actual Kutenai use of the area. The closest such reference in Turney-High was a statement that the Lower Kutenai "often took salmon at Nelson" (Turney-High 1941:51), but as discussed in Section 6 of the present study, Turney-High was very likely mistaken, as salmon reportedly could not get past Bonnington Falls located about 10 miles (16 Km) west from Nelson.

Tolmie and Dawson's 1884 map, compiled using Dawson's data, appeared to include the Slocan Lake area within Kutenai territory (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:pocket map), although Dawson subsequently indicated that the boundary was in fact further east, at Bonnington Falls (Dawson 1889; 1890:16b; 1892:6).

Much more recent ethnographic work compiled on behalf of the Kootenay Indian Area Council (as it was then known) has stated that Kutenai people were making use of the Slocan area in the 1980s. Slocan Lake was identified as a place where contemporary Kutenai people were fishing, and Lemon Creek, located between Winlaw and the south end of Slocan Lake, was identified as a Kutenai hunting area (Justus Simonetta 1984:11, 15).

The recorded data on Lakes use of the Slocan region are not extensive, yet the traditional importance of the area to the Lakes people appears unquestionable. The meaning of the Okanagan-Colville place name *slhu7k̓ín̓* (anglicized as "Slocan") itself — 'pierce, strike on head' — with its reference to the practice of spearing or harpooning salmon, alludes to fisheries there. Support for Teit's (1930b:210) statement that "Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages" is provided by the fact that a substantial run of chinook (spring) salmon, comprised of 20,000-25,000 spawning fish, is reported to have spawned in the Slocan River directly below the outlet of Slocan Lake, prior to the completion of the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia in the late 1930s (Lindsay 2000a:pers. comm.). Support for Teit's statement is also provided in the archaeological record, which appears to confirm that in previous times there was a substantial population in the Slocan (Mohs 1982; Eldridge 1981; 1984)

Information recorded by George Gibbs in the mid-1850s suggests that salmon were formerly plentiful below Bonnington Falls. In a discussion of what he referred to as *"Salmo quinnat"* [now known as the spring or chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*)], Gibbs identified the "Kootanie" River as one of several rivers that this species was said to ascend (Gibbs [1854-1855]). Since no salmon could ascend past Bonnington Falls, most of the salmon that entered the mouth of the Kootenay would likely have run up the Slocan.[8]

Ray ascribed less importance to the Slocan River mouth fishery than Teit did, noting in one report that after the end of the Kettle Falls fishing season, some Lakes people "went to the Slocan River to obtain the salmon that were to be found there." Ray pointed out that while the Slocan River did provide "a small supply of relatively fresh salmon" until late in the autumn season,

these fish were of very poor quality, "since most of them were near death from the exhaustion of the up-river struggle and the spawning activity" (Ray 1975:II:128).

In contrast, Teit recorded considerable information about the Slocan River mouth salmon fishery. According to Teit (1930b:210), the area around the village known in the Okanagan-Colville language as "*sntɛktɛli ́t.kʷ*" (see also Section 4.2 that follows) and located near the junction of the Slocan and Kootenai Rivers, was "a noted salmon-fishing place" for the Lakes people, as well as a trading place where the Lower Kutenai would come to obtain salmon from the Lakes. Teit wrote that the Lower Kutenai:

> frequently came to the mouth of Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls; and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, and eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage (Teit 1930b:253).

Indeed, Teit recorded that the Slocan River mouth salmon fishery was important enough to have been the object of a battle between the Lakes and the Kutenai around 1800. Lakes consultants told Teit that they fought only one great "war" with the Kutenai, which was largely over the possession of this fishery — "the Kutenai tried to drive the Lake [Lakes] away from Lower Kootenai River, and to take possession of the salmon fisheries at the mouth of Slocan River." However, the Lakes people retained possession of these fisheries (Teit n.d.; 1930b:258).

While few early ethnohistoric references to the Slocan Region have been recorded, some do make reference to a fishery there. In late August or early September of 1826, Hudson's Bay Company trader William Kittson observed a salmon weir at the mouth of the Slocan, stating that "the Columbia Indians [*sngaytskstx*] make a barrier for salmon" (Kittson 1826). George Dawson noted in 1889 that the Lakes Indians formerly fished for salmon on the Kootenay River as far as Bonnington Falls (Dawson 1889; 1890:19b), not far upriver from the Slocan/ Kootenay River confluence.

Trout and char fisheries have also been recorded ethnographically in the Slocan region. One such place was identified by Teit as a place on Slocan Lake named "*Takɛlɛẋaitcɛkst*" which he translated as 'trout ascend,' where "a variety of large trout" was taken (Teit 1930b:210).[As discussed in Section 4.2 that follows, we conclude that "*Takɛlɛẋaitcɛkst*" is Wilson Creek, near the northeastern end of Slocan Lake, and that the species referred to here is actually the bull trout (*Salvelinus confluentus*), formerly known as the Dolly Varden char (*Salvelinus malma*)].

Very little information has been recorded about traditional hunting activities in the Slocan area. Joe Barr, one of the Lakes consultants we interviewed in 1985, indicated that his mother's father, a Lakes Indian man named *skwaŕxn*, used to trap in the Slocan area, although Mr. Barr added that he did not know exactly where this trapping took place. Presumably this would have been in the 1870s (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:101-102). In June 1903, two Natives were reported coming into Nelson from the Slocan country, having a couple of ponies loaded with bear skins, which they sold to the Hudson's Bay Company. Their lot was described as "five silver tips and seven black and brown ones," and the Natives stated that bears had been very plentiful that year (*Nelson Daily News* 1903b). The ethnicity of these Natives was not identified, however. As previously noted, a 1984 study

prepared on behalf of the Kootenay Indian Area Council stated that Kutenai people were hunting at that time in the Lemon Creek area (located between Winlaw and the south end of Slocan Lake) (Justus Simonetta 1984).

PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE SLOCAN

The following discussion begins at the confluence of the Slocan River with the Kooteny River and follows up the Slocan, taking in all the area as far north as the head end of Slocan Lake (see Map 4).

Slocan River Mouth [?]

The exact location of the Lakes settlement that was known as "*snt'ekwl̓útkw*" and was associated with the Slocan River mouth area, is not known with certainty.

Ray (1936b:125-126) provided the most explicit description of this settlement. He said that "*ntɪkuli'tkʷ*" (as he transcribed its name) was situated "on the north side of the Kootenay river about a mile above the mouth of the Slocan (*slo'kàn*) river." If Ray's distance estimate was correct, this would place the settlement about half a mile (.8 Km) south from the Wards Bay/Slocan Pool area. The fact that there are a number of significant archaeological sites in the Wards Bay/ Slocan Pool area suggests that the site to which Ray's Lakes consultant referred, may actually have been somewhat farther north, in this latter area of the Kootenay River (see also Section 6.2 of the present report).[9] Although Charlie Quintasket did not know Ray's (1936b:125) "*ntɪkuli'tkʷ*" as a place name, he recognized Ray's term as the Okanagan-Colville word "*snt'ekwl̓útkw*" and agreed with the translation 'much river food.' Teit (1930b:210) transcribed this same place name as "*sntɛkɛli't.kʷ*" but his location of the site was less specific — he indicated only that "*sntɛkɛli't.kʷ*" was located "near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers."

Determining the location of the ethnographically-recorded Lakes settlement here in the vicinity of the Slocan River mouth is complicated by the presence of several other archaeological sites indicating sustained past settlement between Slocan Pool and the mouth of the Slocan River (Eldridge 1981:52-53; 56-57; Turnbull 1977;27-8; Choquette 1985:61).[10]

The ethnographic sources agree that this was once an important fishing place, although their information about the principal fish that the Lakes people caught there is not consistent. Teit clearly identified the site as a salmon fishery. He stated that "This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls" (Teit 1930b:210). Teit also recorded information that the Lower Kutenai came to this place to trade for fresh salmon from the Lakes:

> In early times some trade was carried on between the Lower Kutenai and the Lake tribe. Parties of the former frequently came to the mouth of the Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls; and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage (Teit 1930b:253).

It is not clear if the Lower Kutenai actually took part in fishing for salmon at the mouth of the

Slocan River, or merely received the salmon in trade.[11]

As we have already noted, Teit was also told that "*sntɛkɛli´t.kᵘ*" was a sufficiently-important salmon fishery to have become a principal cause of a "war" between the Lakes and the Kutenai at some point before 1800, when the Kutenai unsuccessfully tried to wrest control of the site from the Lakes. In discussing this "war," Teit recorded that:

> It is not remembered exactly how it started; but the Kutenai tried to drive the Lake away from the Lower Kootenai River, and to take possession of the salmon fisheries at the mouth of Slocan River. A number of fights occurred, with advantage sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. At last the Lake held a council, and said "We better kill all the Kutenai, and then there will be no more trouble." At this time the Lake tribe was very numerous, and men came from all parts of the tribe. A large expedition went up Kootenai Lake and attacked the Lower Kutenai of Creston. They killed a great many people, and after that, the Kutenai ceased to attack them (Teit 1930b:258).

Ray, on the other hand, explicitly identified this same site, "*ntɪkuli´tkᵘ*" (which, as we have discussed, Ray located on the Kootenay River, upriver from the Slocan mouth), with *trout* fishing, indicating that the site was also used as a base for bear hunting and berry picking. He stated that:

> Trout pools were numerous in the river at this point ["*ntɪkuli´tkᵘ*"] making it a popular fishing center. Women used the site as a base for berry picking while men found it convenient for hunting bear. Parties usually stayed here a week or two, most often during April just before the river began to rise. Later they moved to the north for caribou hunting, some travelling the Slocan river route, some choosing the Kootenay river (Ray 1936b:125-126).

Although Ray did not record information in his 1936 article that this specific site ("*ntɪkuli´tkᵘ*") was used as a salmon fishery, he did conclude in his 1975 report (based on a report he had initially written in 1947) that a salmon fishery existed on the Slocan River:

> The few salmon that managed to get over the Falls [Kettle Falls] generally spawned in the Slocan River. After the fishing season had terminated at Kettle Falls some persons went to the Slocan River to obtain the salmon that were to be found there . . . this fishery did provide a small amount of relatively fresh salmon until late in the autumn season (Ray 1975:II:128).

Ray's reference to only a few salmon getting over Kettle Falls, and his further statement that the quality of the salmon at the Slocan fishery was very poor, suggests that he thought the Slocan salmon fishery was a marginal one — this is not consistent with the information recorded by Teit.

Ethnohistoric evidence appears to confirm the presence of a significant fishery at the mouth of the Slocan. In late August or early September of 1826, William Kittson of the Hudson's Bay Company, during a trip through the area, remarked that at "the discharge of a small rapid river" [undoubtedly the Slocan River] "the

Columbia Lake Indians make a barrier [weir] for salmon" (Kittson 1826). "Columbia Lake Indians" in this particular context is very likely a reference to the Lakes Indians (*sngaytskstx*).[12]

Crescent Valley [?]

A settlement identified as "*skɛtu'kɛlôx̣*" was recorded by Teit, although he provided very little information about this named place. Teit listed "*skɛtu'kɛlôx̣*" among his "old villages and camps along Slocan River" and indicated that it was "on Slocan River, below No. 16 [*nkweio'xtɛn*, Vallican (?)]" (Teit 1930b:210). But since Teit did not provide an explicit location for "*nkweio'xtɛn*" (indicating only that it was further upriver), this reference does not help to identify the location of "*skɛtu'kɛlôx̣*" more precisely. "*Skɛtu'kɛlôx̣*" is an Okanagan-Colville word, but we have been unable to determine its meaning; our Lakes consultants did not recognize this term.

No one else appears to have recorded additional ethnographic or linguistic information about this place. We do not know if the transcription of the name for this same place that is provided by Ray (1936b:127) — "*skɛtu'kɛlôx̣*" — in his listing of Lakes villages is merely a retranscription of Teit's rendition of the name, or if Ray re-elicited it from his own Lakes consultant.

Since Teit's data provides only a very general indication as to where "*skɛtu'kɛlôx̣*" was situated, we have made a tentative estimate of its location based on a general correlation between Teit's ethnographic data and the archaeological data as presented by Eldridge.

Teit (1930b:210) provided the names of three Lakes settlements along the Slocan River between the river mouth and the south end of Slocan Lake. He did not identify the exact location of any of these three sites, only their location in relation to each other. Eldridge (1981:42-44) indicated that there are three distinct clusters of habitation sites which have been recorded archaeologically along the Slocan River: along the lower Slocan River above where it meets the Kootenay River; at Vallican, where the Little Slocan River meets the main Slocan; and at Lemon Creek, along the upper Slocan River not far below Slocan Lake. Moreover Eldridge concluded from this clustering that settlement of the Slocan region was likely limited to these three places, even over a broad spectrum of time. He stated that:

> The concentration of all recorded sites into three clusters, near South Slocan [lower Slocan River], Vallican, and Lemon Creek, suggests an interesting settlement pattern. It would appear that local resources and environmental factors operated over a long period of time to restrict the settlement of the valley to these three areas (Eldridge 1981:42-44).

Based on this correlation between Teit's identification of three site clusters along the Slocan River and Eldridge's conclusions that settlement over a long period of time along the River was very likely restricted to these clusters, we tentatively locate "*skɛtu'kɛlôx̣*" with the archaeologically recorded sites in the Crescent Valley area, on the east side of the Slocan River about three miles (4.8 Km) upriver from its present-day confluence with the Kootenay River.[13]

Vallican [?]

Very little has been recorded about the place that Teit (1930b:210) identified as "*nkweio'xtɛn*." Its exact location is not made explicit in the recorded ethnographic and ethnohistoric data, although Teit (1930b:210) identified it as one of the "old villages and camps along Slocan River" and indicated that it was "on Slocan River, below No. 15 ["*kā'ntcā'k*"]." While "*nkweio'xtɛn*" is

clearly an Okanagan-Colville word, we do not know its meaning; our Lakes consultants did not recognize this term.[14]

As with "*skEtu'kElôx̣*" discussed above, it appears that no one else has recorded additional ethnographic or linguistic information about "*nkweio'xtEn.*" We do not know if Ray's (1936b:127) transcription "*nkweio'xtEn*" for this same place is merely a retranscription of Teit's rendition of the name, or if Ray re-elicited it from his own Lakes consultant.

Teit's description allows the location of "*nkweio'xtEn*" to be identified only relative to the two other places he identified on the Slocan River. He indicated only that "*nkweio'xtEn*" was located "on Slocan River, below No. 15 ["*kā'ntcā'k*"]" and above "*skEtu'kElôx̣*" (Teit 1930b:210).

Following the same correlation as discussed above between Teit's ethnographic data and the archaeological data as presented by Eldridge, we have tentatively identified Vallican as the most likely site of "*nkweio'xtEn.*"[15]

Some information relating to what was undoubtedly a trail leading up the Little Slocan from the Vallican area was provided by George Dawson, quoting information given to him "by Mr. Archie McDonald, who had been engaged in prospecting on the Slocan." According to Dawson:

> At eighteen miles up [the Slocan River], a branch comes in from the west, by the valley of which the Indians cross over to Deer Park on Lower Arrow Lake (Dawson 1890:20b).

Although the distance estimate provided by Mr. McDonald is almost certainly wrong — the actual distance from the Slocan River mouth up to the Little Slocan confluence is 12 miles, not 18 miles — the Little Slocan does provide a route through to Deer Park at the lower end of Lower Arrow Lake. Possibly it was a portion of this same trail that Mrs. P. Cooper (n.d.) was referring to when she stated that her father, in the early 1890s, "took a pack-train up the west fork of the Little Slocan, over an old Indian trail to the Arrow Lakes." The "west fork of the Little Slocan" would be Koch Creek, which connects with the headwaters of Burton Creek.[16] However, a review of topographic maps indicates that to connect with Deer Park at the lower end of Arrow Lake, it would be necessary to go southwest from Koch Creek, by way of Greasybill Creek and Deer Creek.

Slocan City resident E.Van Dulken provided some additional information about aboriginal use and occupation of the Vallican area. He stated that:

> At Vallican there was a village & cemetery below Vallican 1 mile — follow river down 1 mile below bridge on west side & where bench drops to former fishing ground is where village was . . . (Van Dulken 1950).

The re-occupation of the Vallican area by Native people of Lakes ancestry, beginning in the late 1980s and continuing, is documented in Pryce's (1999) recent book.

Lemon Creek [?]

Teit is again the only source of this name. His only indication as to the location of "*kā'ntcā'k*" is that it was "on Slocan River, below the lake," as well as above the place he identified as "*nkweio'xtEn*" (Teit 1930b:210), which we have tentatively identified as Vallican. As we noted in 1985, we do not recognize this term, "*kā'ntcā'k*" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:99). Our Lakes consultants did not recognize this term, either. We do not know if Ray's (1936b:127) transcription

"*ka· ntca· ʔk*" for this same place is merely a retranscription of Teit's rendition of the name, or if Ray re-elicited this term from his own Lakes consultant.

Again, following the same correlation as discussed above between Teit's ethnographic data and the archaeological data as presented by Eldridge, we have tentatively identified the Lemon Creek area as the likely site of "*kā·ntcāʔk.*" [Lemon Creek is about 5 miles (8 Km) south of the lower end of Slocan Lake]. In making this determination, we have taken into consideration Eldridge's (1981:41-44) identification of Lemon Creek as one of the three significant clusters of habitation sites that have been recorded along the Slocan River. We have also considered Eldridge's (1981:61-84) detailed descriptions of the many cultural depressions which are centered along the east side of the Slocan River from about .75 miles (1.2 Km) to about 1.5 miles (2.4 Km) above Lemon Creek.[17]

Mrs. Phyllis Cooper of the town of Slocan, the daughter of one of this area's first pioneers, Walter Clough, stated in 1985 that "there was a large encampment of Indians" on the west side of the Slocan River, just above the mouth of Mulvey Creek [which is about 2 miles (3.2 Km) below the lower end of Slocan Lake].[18] Mrs. Cooper also said that numerous artifacts have been found north of this area, between Mulvey Creek [19] and Slocan Lake, on the east side of Slocan River, across from the mouth of Gwillim Creek (P.Cooper 1985:pers. comm.), which is about 1 mile (1.6 Km) south of the lower end of Slocan Lake.

At least a portion of the area described above by Mrs. Cooper would have included a known salmon-spawning place — a substantial run of chinook (spring) salmon, comprised of 20,000-25,000 spawning fish, spawned in the Slocan River directly below the outlet of Slocan Lake, prior to the completion of the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia in the late 1930s (Lindsay 2000a:pers. comm.).

Springer Creek [?]

Three specific place names for individual sites along Slocan Lake itself have been recorded. However, as was the case with the Slocan River place names, it appears that Teit is the only person who was ever able to record these names, which he included in his list of "old villages and camps" of the Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) in this area (Teit 1930b:210).[20]

Teit (1930b:210) identified "*sihwī·ʔlɛx̣*" as the southernmost of these three named places, stating only that is was located "on the lower part of Slocan Lake." Although in our opinion this is very likely an Okanagan-Colville term, we have not been able to determine its meaning. Ray (1936b) transcribed this same term as "*sihwī·ʔlɛx̣*" but as with the previously-discussed Slocan region place names, we do not know if Ray merely retranscribed this term from Teit, or re-elicited it from his own Lakes consultant.

Our tentative association of this name, "*sihwī·ʔlɛx̣*" with the mouth of Springer Creek (which empties into the southeastern corner of Slocan Lake in the settlement of Slocan), is based on information provided by Mrs. Phyllis Cooper of Slocan. Her father, who came to the Slocan Lake area in 1892-1893, told her that at that time, a village of 60-70 "Colville" Indians lived at the mouth of Springer Creek, but that they left in 1896 (P.Cooper n.d.; 1985:pers. comm).[21] These "Colville" Indians were very likely Lakes people. However, it has not been possible to corroborate this account from any other sources besides Phyllis Cooper and her son, Innes.

Two sources have referred to Native trails connecting with Slocan Lake. An "Indian trail" that led from Burton and connected "somewhere around Slocan City" was referred to by William

Mosely (1965).[22] George Dawson (1890:21b) recorded that there was said to be an Indian pass "from the vicinity of Slocan Lake" to the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, but gave no details about its route.

Wilson Creek [?]

Again, it appears that Teit (1930b:210) is the only source for this place name, which he transcribed as "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*" and identified as one of the "old villages and camps" of the Lakes people. Teit (1930b:210) stated only that "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*" was located "on Slocan Lake, below No. 12 ["*snkEmi´p*"]" (this latter site was identified by Teit as being at the upper end of Slocan Lake — he did not indicate the distance between "*snkEmi´p*" and "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*").Thus it is theoretically possibly that "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*" could have been located anywhere along the entire length of Slocan Lake, between the place called "*snkEmi´p,*" said by Teit to have been "at upper end" of the lake, and "*sihwī·´lEx̣,*" said to have been "on the lower part" of the lake (Teit 1930b:210).

What Teit transcribed as "*takELEx̣aitcEkst,*" Ray (1936b:127) transcribed as "*takəlx̣aitcəkst.*" While we do not know for certain if Ray merely retranscribed Teit's term or re-elicited it from his own Lakes consultant, the fact that Ray reproduced Teit's translation 'trout ascend?' verbatim, suggests that he only retranscribed this Native term and repeated its translation.

Teit's tentative translation of "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*" provides at least some assistance in estimating a location for this place. According to Teit, "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*" may mean 'trout ascend' [a question mark was added here, indicating uncertainty], which he said is derived "from *ai´tcEkst* a variety of large trout, probably lake trout" (Teit 1930b:210). There is no doubt that in fact the species referred to here, transcribed as "*ai´tcEkst,*" is *gaytskst* which is the Okanagan-Colville name for the bull trout (*Salvelinus confluentus*), formerly known as the Dolly Varden char (*Salvelinus malma*).[23] It is thus possible that the name Teit recorded was "*tk̲elgáystskst,*" derived from *gayskst*. The prefix *k̲el-* in Okanagan-Colville refers to 'upper, above,' so the meaning of "*tk̲elgáytskst*" might pertain to a place where *gayskst* ('bull trout') ascend, which *is* close to the translation given by Teit.

The assistance, therefore, that Teit provided lies in his suggestion that the place known as "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*" ("*tk̲elgáytskst*") was a place somewhere along Slocan Lake where bull trout were known to ascend. And in fact there *is* such a place. According to fisheries biologist Bob Lindsay (2000a:pers. comm.), there is a run of bull trout in Wilson Creek, which empties into the east side of Slocan Lake, about 5 miles (8 Km) below the lake's head end. Thus we have tentatively identified "*takELEx̣aitcEkst*" ("*tk̲elgáytskst*") as the area at the mouth of Wilson Creek.

Head of Slocan Lake

Once again, only Teit (1930b:210) has recorded a Native place name for this area. He identified the "upper end of Slocan Lake" as "*snkEmi´p*" and included this term in his list of "old villages and camps" of the Lakes Indians in the Slocan area. Teit (1930b:210) translated the meaning of "*snkEmi´p*" as 'base, root, or bottom,' adding that this was "with reference to the head of the lake."

While we do not know for certain if Ray's (1936b:128) rendition of this same place name as "*snkəmi´p*" is merely a retranscription of Teit's "*snkEmi´p*" or is a re-elicitation from Ray's own Lakes consultant, the fact that Ray reproduced Teit's translation verbatim, suggests that he only retranscribed this Native term and repeated its translation.

There is no doubt that Teit's *"snkɛmi´p"* is the Okanagan-Colville word *snk'mip*, which does indeed refer to the 'head of a lake.' Our Lakes consultants did not know of *snk'mip* as a place name here at Slocan Lake (although there are several places elsewhere in Okanagan-Colville territory that are known as *snk'mip*).[24]

It is difficult to use archaeological data to estimate which specific site at or near the end of Slocan Lake may have been the one called *"snkɛmi´p"* (*snk'mip*), as it appears that almost no archaeological sites have been recorded around this lake's head end. Moreover, archaeological records of habitation sites around Slocan Lake as a whole are very rare (Eldridge 1981:43-46).[25]

It has been reported that the head of Slocan Lake was the terminus of an Indian trail to the Arrow Lakes. In 1890, George Dawson made reference to an Indian trail leading from Nakusp through " a low and rather wide valley which is reported to be used by the Indians as a pass to Slocan Lake" (Dawson 1890:11b). It appears the route followed by this trail is the one still used today by Highway 6 which runs alongside Bonanza Creek then past Summit Lake and Box Lake to Nakusp — the trail itself is depicted on an 1893 map of development in the West Kootenay produced by the head of a Mine Engineering Company at Nelson (Perry 1893, In, Arrow Lakes Historical Society 1992:29).

SECTION 4.0 ENDNOTES

[1] The indigenous term *slhu7k̓íṅ* has been recorded in several ethnohistoric and ethnographic documents, including: John Palliser (1857-58 In Spry 1968:map) who transcribed it as *"shlogan;"* Edgar Dewdney (1865b) who provided the transcription *"slokēn;"* Walter Moberly (1869:map) who wrote *"slocken;"* James Teit (1930b:211) who wrote this term as *"słoke´n;"* and Verne Ray (1936b:125) who wrote it as *"slo´kàn."* The only Kutenai source for this term that we are aware of is on a map of Kutenai territory and place names (Anon. c.1995) where this name is transcribed as *"słuqan."* We no not know if *"słuqan"* is a "Kutenai-ized" pronunciation of the Okanagan-Colville term *slhu7k̓íṅ*, or a "Kutenai-ized" pronunciation of the English term "Slocan."

[2] Mrs. Marchand explained that *slhu7k̓íṅ* is derived from the Okanagan-Colville term *lhumíṅ*, meaning 'harpoon.'

[3] For example, Teit's (n.d.) Lakes fieldnotes made in 1909 explicitly included within Lakes territory "all Slocan River & Slocan & Trout Lakes," and Ray's (1936b:114) map also included all the Slocan region within the overall boundary of Lakes territory.

[4] Slocan River and Slocan Lake are not shown on David Thompson's (1813-1814) map or on Alexander Ross' (1821) map but they are both shown on De Smet's map of the 1840s (De Smet [c.1842-1848]).

[5] A recent book by anthropologist Paula Pryce (1999) suggests that the Arrow Lakes region and the Slocan in particular became refuges where the Sinixt could live in peace in the mid-19th century, and that they remained in the north permanently until the 1880s. Pryce does not present evidence to support her hypothesis, however, and we know of no additional data ourselves which would support this view.

[6] Ray reported that Chief James Bernard (see Figure 11), who died in 1934 in his 80s, was the best Lakes consultant available. Yet Ray's data indicate that Chief Bernard's knowledge of traditional Lakes territory on the Canadian side of the border was limited to certain areas, in particular the West Arm of Kootenay Lake. Apparently Chief Bernard provided no information to Ray about some other areas known to be traditionally important to the Lakes, including the Slocan, and the more northerly areas of the Arrow Lakes.

[7] This statement is not meant as a criticism of our Lakes consultants. Rather, it reflects the fact that prior to the late

1980s (when several Native people of Lakes ancestry began living in the Slocan), it had been decades since there were Lakes people in the Slocan. In a more general context, we stated the following in our 1985 report concerning our Lakes consultants' knowledge of their territory north of the United States border:

> In the 1950s, anthropologist Stuart Chalfant attempted to elicit Lakes ethnographic data to support his testimony on behalf of the Federal Government before the Indian Claims Commission. He found that the type of information he was trying to elicit was no longer remembered by people of Lakes ancestry. Almost thirty years later we have attempted to do the same and have had the same results. Only five Lakes place names north of the international border were known independently by our contemporary Lakes informants. A few other names they had heard but did not know their locations. They were able to verify the meanings of some place names after hearing them pronounced from the work of Teit and Ray, and therefore the transcriptions of these place names have been corrected. The area that contemporary Lakes people were familiar with was south of the international border, and the Lakes history that they knew was that which occurred after the Lakes' southern migration. The diminished collective knowledge of the Lakes, however, has in no way detracted from their strong sense of identity as Lakes Indians ...(Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:5).

Our 1985 observations notwithstanding, Pryce (1999:110) states that her own Lakes consultants in the 1990s had "both specific and more general stories of the northern Lakes territory." This statement implies that Ms. Pryce was able to record more detailed data than we were able to elicit, working as we did with Native elders who were recognized in the 1970s-1980s as the most traditionally-knowledgeable Lakes people. Yet only a very limited amount of such information is provided in Ms. Pryce's book. Indeed, if Pryce's Native consultants independently provided her with the Lakes names of *any* places, or information about traditional Sinixt land use and occupancy, we have been unable to find it in her book.

[8] The source of Gibbs' data here is not clear, and it is not certain if the information came from Native or Non-Native sources.

[9] Eldridge (1981:52-53, 56-57) has pointed out that there are significant archaeological sites on both the south and west shores of the Slocan Pool. Years earlier, H.I. Smith (1930) noted that many artifacts had been collected along the shores of the Slocan Pool and that Gold Island in this pool was "used as a burial place."

[10] Several archaeological sites have been recorded in the vicinity of the Slocan River mouth. One site has been recorded on the north bank of the Slocan directly at the confluence of the Slocan and Kootenay rivers. Circular housepits were found here, indicating some type of settlement. As well, circular cultural depressions have been recorded in the area further up the terrace away from the river, towards Crescent Valley (Eldridge 1981:44,50,52-56). According to Choquette (1985:61), these sites may once have been at or very near to the *old* confluence of the Slocan and Kootenay and the Slocan Rivers (Choquette 1985:61). An archaeological site has also been reported on the south shore of the Slocan's mouth, on the lowest of two terraces adjacent to the river — in Eldridge's (1981:50) estimation, this latter site was Teit's *"sntɛkɛli't.k^{u}."* This site was excavated by C.J. Turnbull in the late 1960s. He reported that the site was composed of three distinct areas: a main cluster of fourteen circular depressions indicating pit house sites; a small cluster of three houses; and a stratified campsite. Two of the pits were superimposed, indicating that the site was used by more than one generation of people (Turnbull 1977:27-28).

[11] On the next page of this same monograph, Teit (1930b:254) stated in a discussion of trading practices that the items traded by the Lower Kutenai in exchange for the

Lakes people's dried salmon were "painted bags, parflêches, and deer-skin robes."

[12] While the term "Columbia Lakes" later became specifically associated with the lakes at the head of the Columbia River, early 19th century fur traders used the term to refer to the Arrow Lakes on the Columbia. For example, in 1827 Chief Trader John Dease of the Hudson's Bay Company also referred to a group called the "Columbia Lake Indians," in the context of his report in which they are discussed with *Salish* groups (Dease 1827), thus equating "Columbia Lake Indians" with the Lakes or *sngaytskstx* [Even in 1859, John Palliser would refer to the Arrow Lakes as "the Columbia Lakes" and "the large Columbia Lakes" (Palliser in Spry 1968: 475, 479)]. Moreover, in the same report in which Kittson referred to the weir of the "Columbia Lake Indians," he also provided separate identifications for both the "Kootenais" and the "Arc Plattes" (Kittson 1826), two commonly-used terms of the period for the Upper and Lower Kutenai respectively. Thus, the "Columbia Lake Indians" identified by Kittson as having a weir at the mouth of the Slocan River were very likely Lakes Indians.

[13] The majority of the housepit locations discussed by Eldridge (1981:52-58) were actually located on the elevated terraces east of the Crescent Valley community, although one series of circular cultural depressions was recorded on the west bank of the Slocan River, approximately midway between Crescent Valley and Shoreacres (near the present-day mouth of the Slocan River). Additional evidence of the former occupation of the area adjacent to Crescent Valley is provided in a 1950 letter written by E. Van Dulken of Slocan City, who noted that "a large village existed just west of Playmor dance hall" (Van Dulken 1950).[Shawn Lamb (2000:pers.comm.) recalls that the "Playmor dance hall" was located at the intersection of Highways 3A and 6, about one mile (1.6 Km) east from the Crescent Valley community]. Mr. Van Dulken also referred to a "campsite" in the Crescent Valley area, and to pithouse depressions in the vicinity of Crescent Valley (Van Dulken 1950).

[14] At least parts of the Okanagan-Colville term "*nkweio'xtɛn*" can by analyzed, namely the locative prefix "*n-*" and the instrumental suffix "*-tɛn*" ("-tn").

[15] The extensive work undertaken at Vallican by Gordon Mohs is the most detailed archaeological investigation in the Slocan region. In a synopsis of his research at Vallican, Mohs wrote that the Vallican site:

> is a large prehistoric settlement spread over a 6.2 hectare area consisting of a burial ground, shell midden deposits, numerous housepit depressions and a variety of other surface features. During the course of investigations, 3404 artifacts, 3460 pieces of lithic waste, 10.685 kilograms of mussel shell, 761 grams of additional faunal material, 1600 kilograms of fire broken rock, 25 subsurface features and the remains of 6 human skeletons were recovered. In addition, 43 carbon samples were collected, 22 of which were submitted for C14 analysis... (Mohs 1982:i).

Elsewhere in his report, Mohs wrote that:

> The depositional record indicates that aboriginal groups re-occupied the Vallican site over an estimated 3000 year period and that utilization was most extensive during the latter part of the late prehistoric period (750-1800 A.D) . . .The archaeological record also indicates that the culture of the aboriginal peoples who inhabited the Vallican site changed significantly over time . . .(Mohs 1982:213-214).

Eldridge (1981:59) noted that the most significant archaeological sites at Vallican, featuring numerous housepit depressions, were on the north side of the confluence of the Slocan and Little Slocan Rivers. Radiocarbon dates at Vallican [which Eldridge (1984:39) stated has one of the best radiocarbon chronologies for any site in the Canadian Plateau] were recorded as approximately 260 B.C., and 90, 170, 700, 780, 810, 930,

970, 1090, 1160, 1190 1200, 1250 (2), 1470, 1690 (2), 1730 and 1840 A.D. (Mohs 1982:137-139). The significant amount of carbon dating indicates that almost all of the housepit depressions excavated were associated with late prehistoric components of the "Slocan Phase" (750-1800 A.D.) although some were associated with earlier components of the "Winlaw Phase" (1500 B.C.- 450 B.C.) and the "Vallican Phase" (450 B.C.-750 A.D.) (Mohs 1982:89). The strongest cluster of dates is between 650 and 1250 A.D. (700-1300 B.P.), which led Eldridge (1984:39) to conclude that this "does suggest that this period saw the most intensive occupation of the site." The two most recent housepit samples Mohs recorded were dated at approximately 1730 (220 ± 100 B.P.) and 1840 (110 ± 80 B.P.) (Mohs 1982:137-139). Protohistoric deposits, characterized by the addition of a few non-Native items such as glass trade beads, rolled copper tube beads, metal buttons, copper rings and various utilitarian metal items, were also found at Vallican and dated by Mohs as being from approximately 1750-1825 (Mohs 1982:98). As well, Mohs (1982:132) recorded the presence of a significant burial find which could be dated to the period after 1750 because of the presence of trade copper and glass beads in the grave.

As previously discussed, Eldridge (1981:41-42) noted there were significant clusters of housepits around the lower portion of the Slocan River, at Vallican, and at Lemon Creek, and indicated that he was surprised at "the frequency and numbers of housepits, and the size of some features." Eldridge concluded that "their features, their number and size, are reminiscent of the large villages of the mid-Fraser, the Chilcotin Plateau or the South Thompson River." Eldridge (1981:41-42) indicated that his findings were incompatible with archaeologist Christopher Turnbull's earlier hypothesis that the Lakes territory was a marginal area of meagre resources and very low population density (Turnbull 1977). It was Eldridge's (1981:42) conclusion that even if only half the pithouses were occupied simultaneously, the population density would still be very high for a marginal area.

[16] Mrs. Cooper's son, Innes Cooper, also referred to the trail connecting Burton with the Slocan and noted that this trail followed along the Little Slocan and Koch Creek (I.Cooper 1985:pers.comm.). (See also the discussion that follows of trails associated with the Slocan Lake area).

[17] This latter area on the east side of the Slocan River was the location where archaeologists excavated several housepit sites in the summer of 2000 (Prentiss et al. 2001). There are, as well, a lesser number of cultural depressions recorded on the west side of the Slocan River, about .8 miles (1.3 Km) upriver from Lemon Creek (Eldridge 1981:84). Presumably this is the same area referred to by local resident E.Van Dulken who wrote that:

> At Lemon Crk on West side of River & 1 mile north of creek there is a large camp site some of the hollows [housepit depressions] they lived in are very large these are close to river... (Van Dulken 1950).

[18] An archaeological site with numerous cultural depressions has been recorded on the south side of Mulvey Creek's mouth (Eldridge 1981:86-87).

[19] The fact that two isolated prehistoric artifacts were found in the Mulvey Basin (Mulvey Lakes) area at the headwaters of Mulvey Creek led Eldridge (1981:48) to state that these two findings "show conclusively that the high altitude areas of the Slocan Valley were used by prehistoric inhabitants."

[20] Eldridge noted that the majority of the archaeological sites recorded on Slocan Lake are pictographs. He observed that cultural depressions are rare, and that only two sites had features large enough to be considered pithouses, leading to the conclusion that "Slocan Lake was unfavourable for large semi-permanent villages . . ." (Eldridge 1981:43). On the other hand, the occurrence of a large number of pictograph sites around Slocan Lake led Eldridge to state "it would seem that the lake was important from a spiritual perspective to the Lakes Salish" and to speculate that:

> The higher frequency of pictograph sites than campsites (e.g. lithic scatters) makes it

> tempting to hypothesize that the lake [Slocan Lake] was more important to prehistoric inhabitants from a religious perspective than it was from an enconomic one (Eldridge 1981:47).

[21] Innes Cooper, the son of Phyllis Cooper, also referred to this incident with the "Colville" Indians and noted there was some "trouble" between these Natives and the local non-Natives (I.Cooper 1985:pers.comm.).

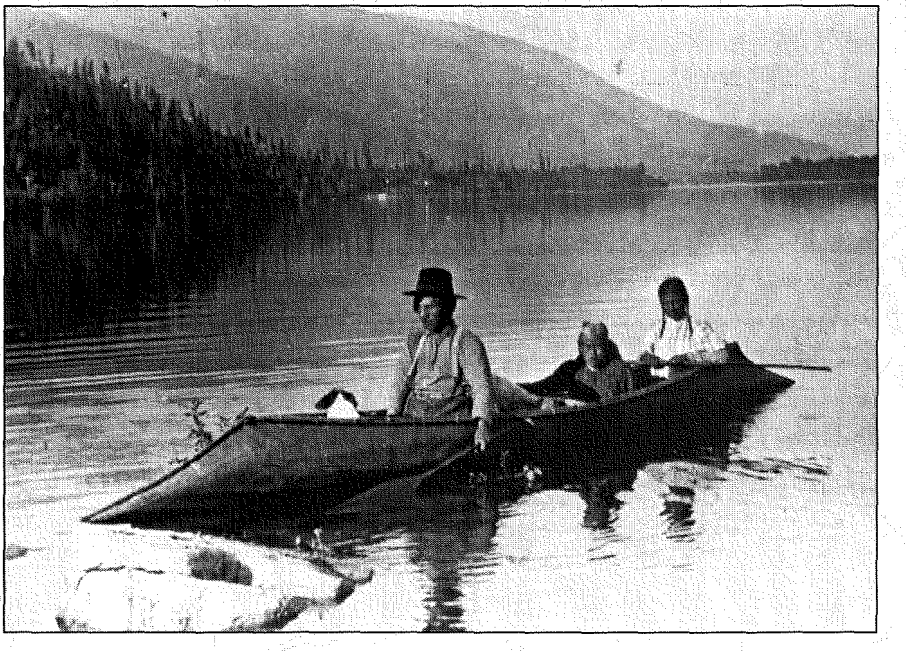
[22] As discussed, other sources have referred to a trail connecting Burton with the Slocan/Little Slocan confluence by way of Koch Creek (P.Cooper n.d.; I.Cooper 1985:pers.comm.).

[23] Moreover, the species known commonly as the "Lake trout" is not found in the Slocan or Arrow Lakes regions (Hildebrand 1999: pers. comm.).

[24] There are, as well, other places within Lakes territory that are named by other Okanagan-Colville terms referring to the head or upper end of a lake — for example *nk'mápeleḵs* and *snp'etl'míp* (see Sections 3.2 and 7.2 of the present report).

[25] One habitation site that *has* been recorded near the head end of Slocan Lake is located on the east side of the lake, across from the mouth of Shannon Creek and about 1.3 miles (approximately 2.2 Km) south from the lake's head end. Apparently this site contains "the only definite housepit on Slocan Lake" (Eldridge 1981:45,99). Innes Cooper (1985:pers.comm.) referred to a "winter encampment" in the vicinity of Nemo Creek (located about midway down the west side of Slocan Lake) but did not indicate the source of his information.

AREA P: LOWER PEND D'OREILLE AND SALMO RIVERS



5.0 AREA P: LOWER PEND D'OREILLE AND SALMO RIVERS

This region of the overall study area extends from the confluence of the Pend d'Oreille River with the Columbia, upriver on the Pend d'Oreille to its confluence with the Salmo River, up the Salmo River, and east along the United States border (see Maps 4 and 5).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The lower Pend d'Oreille River/Salmo River region is remote. The lands adjacent to these river valleys are rugged, steep and heavily forested. Moreover while access to this region is possible from the west (up from the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille River), from the south (coming down the Pend d'Oreille), and from the north (through the Cottonwood Creek Valley south of Nelson), the available evidence indicates that historic travel along these avenues of access was difficult.

Before the construction of the Waneta and Seven Mile Dams, the lower Pend d'Oreille River was a very rugged highway. It was extremely rough, with lots of rapids, both in the stretch above the Pend d'Oreille's mouth which would affect travel from the west, and in the parts farther upriver, which would have affected travel from the south. The journey from the south appears to have been particularly difficult. Canoe travel was impossible and the recorded information indicates that people coming into this area from that direction had to walk along a treacherous trail said to be impassable to horses. The route from the north was over a range of mountains, and if it was much used traditionally, evidence of this does not appear to have survived.

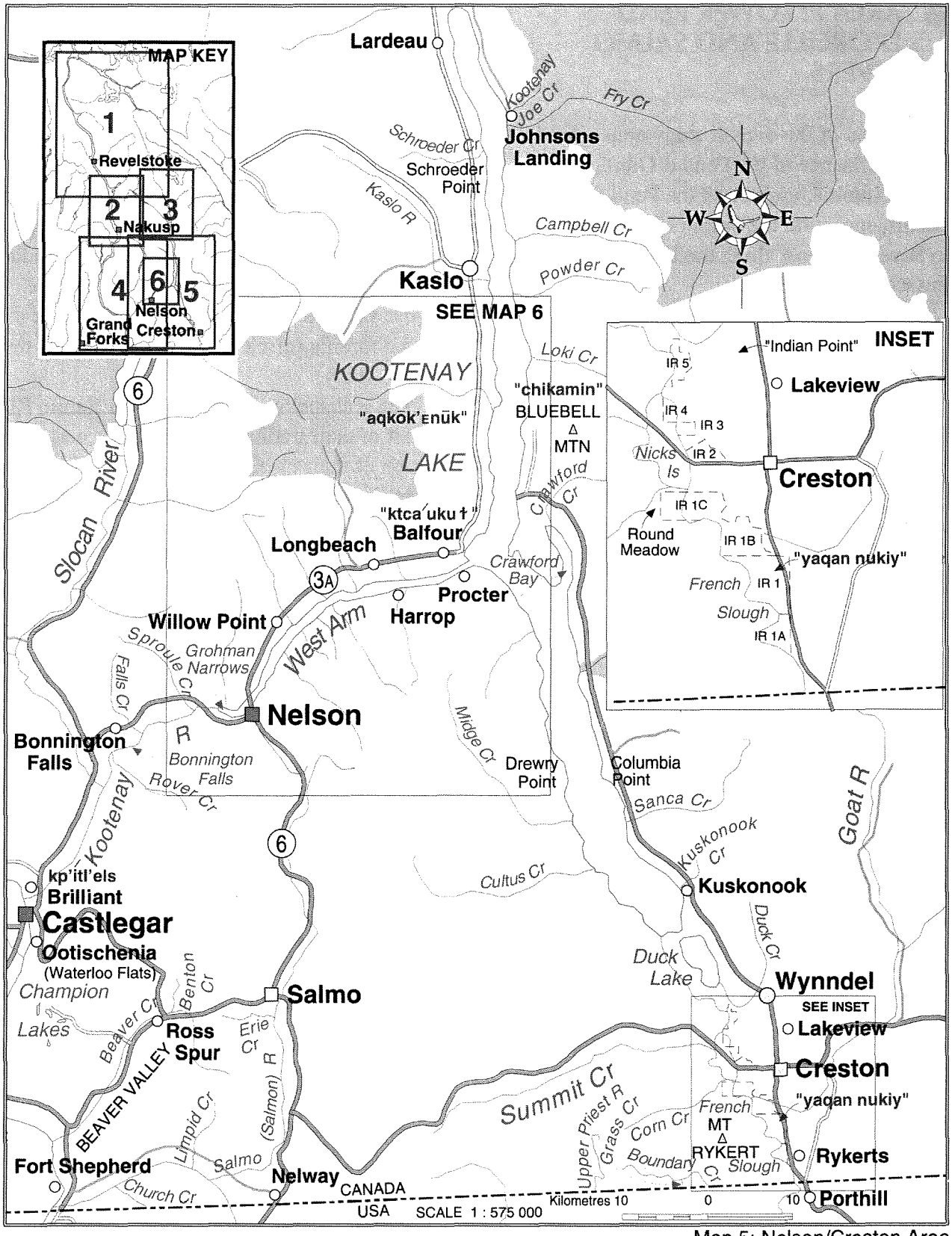
Despite the difficulty in reaching this area, some Native people did come here in order to get the salmon that ran up the Salmo. Although the lower Salmo was closer to the core areas of Lakes territory than to the territory of other groups, little is known of the Lakes people's traditional use of the Salmo region (but see also the discussion that follows). Possibly this was because the principal resource of this area was salmon, and the *sngaytskstx* had much easier access to abundant supplies of salmon elsewhere. However, the *sngaytskstx* did use the area at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille (discussed in Section 3.2 of the present study).

The Kalispel included the lower Salmo River as part of their traditional territory. It was a small portion of their overall territory, but nevertheless a significant one. This was because the Kalispel had only limited access to salmon, as salmon passage up the lower Pend d'Oreille River was blocked by an impassable waterfall. As the late Allan Smith pointed out:

> /Salmon could be secured by the Kalispel in their territory only on the lowermost reaches of the Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille] and on the lower Salmo River in the northwestern corner of their country./ They were prevented from ascending the Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille] by a vertical falls which was estimated by BS [Bob Sherwood] to be from 12 to 16 feet in height (A.Smith 1950:372).

However, the lower Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River region does not appear to have been used extensively by any Native group. Relatively little data has been recorded about either Kalispel or *sngaytskstx* use of this region, and much of the data that do exist specifically indicate that the area was little used.

One of the uses that has been recorded



Map 5: Nelson/Creston Area

concerning the Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River region is James Teit's (1930b:308) note that the Salmo River area comprised a "small corner" of Kalispel hunting territory. Teit (1910-1913) also reported that "a large body" of Kalispel people came to this region north of the international border to live "for several years" after the Indian Wars of the mid 1850s. Teit added that some Kalispel even stayed here during the time of these Wars. Yet the most significant body of ethnographic data describing the lower Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River region's traditional use, recorded by Allan Smith from Native Kalispel consultants between 1936-1938, emphasizes that the Kalispel only came to this region briefly during the fishing season, that they did not come here regularly, and that when they did come, it was in relatively small numbers (A.Smith 1950; 1986).[1]

The ethnohistoric data is almost entirely bereft of references to Native people using this area, and contains several conclusions of individuals that entry into this area from the south was very rare. Ethnohistoric accounts indicate that some *sngaytskstx* and Lower Kutenai people knew the principal transportation routes along the Pend d'Oreille and Salmo, and travelled through the area.

Ethnographic Data on the Lower Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River Region's Use

Portions of the lower Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River region are part of the traditional territory of the Kalispel, an Interior Salish group who speak a dialect of what is referred to as the Kalispel language (see also Sections 1.3 and 8.3 of the present study).[2] The Kalispel were part of the same cultural entity as the Pend d'Oreille, and have also been referred to as the "Lower Pend d'Oreille." The boundary between the Kalispel and the "Upper Pend d'Oreille" — often just called the Pend d'Oreille — is said to have been in the vicinity of the Clark Fork and Flathead Rivers near Plains, Montana (Lahren 1994:283; 1998:283-284; Malouf 1998:297). Early ethnohistoric records frequently treated the terms "Kalispel" and "Pend d'Oreille" as synonyms, with the terms being used somewhat interchangeably to describe one group, or the other, or both (Work 1830; Heron and Kittson 1830-1831; De Smet 1843:335-337; Chittenden and Richardson 1905:470-474, 764-765, 995-996; Hodge 1907:646-647; Lahren 1994:283; 1998:296).

The Kalispel were divided into two divisions, Lower and Upper Kalispel, each with their own separate chiefs and assistant chiefs (Teit 1930b:374; Chalfant 1974a:214-215; Lahren 1998:288). The Upper Kalispel occupied lands around Lake Pend d'Oreille and lands east of it up the Clark Fork to the vicinity of present-day Plains, Montana. The Lower Kalispel also occupied territory around Lake Pend d'Oreille, and the lands farther down the Pend d'Oreille River west and northwest of this lake, extending into British Columbia to the confluence of the Salmo River with the Pend d'Oreille, which is about 3 miles (5 Km) north of the international border. People of both Kalispel divisions seem to have enjoyed the right to occupy and use the land of the other (Lahren 1994:283; 1998:284, 290). However the Lower Kalispel were the group whose core territory lay closer to the Salmo River/ Pend d'Oreille River confluence, and are likely the Kalispel who made the most regular use of the Salmo River area.

It appears that James Teit was the first ethnographer to explicitly define the Salmo River area as being part of Kalispel territory. He described Kalispel territory as follows:

> The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend

> d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and [H]orse Plains... This included most of Sanders Country, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priest's Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the state of Washington. A small corner of their hunting territory extended into the Salmon [Salmo] River district of British Columbia [emphasis added] (Teit 1930b:308).

This was Teit's only *published* reference to the use of the Salmo River region — that it was a Kalispel hunting ground. His *unpublished* notes contain significant additional information about the area, however.

Teit defined the parameters of Kalispel territory on the Salmo with more precision in several maps of tribal territories he prepared between 1910 and 1913. His "Map 3," said to represent a time period "just before the settlement of the country by the Whites and the laying off of Indian Reservations," included the entire Salmo drainage system within Kalispel territory, extending the boundary north from the town of Salmo (to an area about midway between Nelson and Salmo) (Teit 1910-1913:Map 3).[3] This is not too different from Teit's (1930b:308) posthumously-published study, where he identified "a small corner" of Kalispel hunting territory in the Salmo River area. However, in these same 1910-1913 notes, Teit provided another map ("Map 4"), said to represent the 1825-1855 period, in which he excluded the Kalispel entirely from the Salmo River area, and defined the boundary between the Lakes and the Kalispel as being at Metaline Falls on the Pend d'Oreille River (Teit 1910-1913:Map 4), about 10 miles (16 Km) south of the international border.[4]

Teit also defined fairly explicitly elsewhere in his unpublished fieldnotes the boundaries of the Kalispel in this region, relative to the Lakes and the Kutenai. He indicated that "south of Nelson they [the Kalispel] formed a wedge between the Lakes & Kootenay and occupied the salmon fisheries on the upper part of Salmon [Salmo] River B.C." (Teit 1907-1910). This appears to be the only reference in Teit's material to Kalispel use of the salmon fisheries on the Salmo. It also appears to be the only known statement that the Kalispel fished for salmon in the *upper* part of the Salmo — Allan Smith's Kalispel (1950; 1954b) consultants were quite certain that the Kalispel fishery was in the area around and just above the Salmo's confluence with the Pend d'Oreille.

Also in his unpublished notes, Teit recorded that the Salmo area "was anciently only hunting country of the Kalispel and possibly at one time belonged altogether to the Lakes" (Teit 1910-1913). This Lakes occupancy would evidently have been a very long time previous, since Teit did include the Salmo area within Kalispel territory in his 1930 publication. Moreover, the context of Teit's (1910-1913) statement that during the mid-1850s Indian Wars in Eastern Washington "a large number of Kalispels made their headquarters in this district [around Salmo] north of the international line and remained there for several years," suggests the Kalispel were coming to an area previously recognized as part of their territory.

Ray's 1936 article on the tribes of the Columbia Basin refers to and describes the location of Kalispel villages in his text, and indicates (as do all other sources) that no Kalispel villages were located anywhere this far down the Pend d'Oreille as the Salmo area. Ray (1936b:128) recorded the names and locations of fourteen Kalispel villages, but the one closest to

this area, a large village called "*cɬkudl'tcu*" (a Kalispel term meaning 'sweat house on bank') located along the Pend d'Oreille River opposite the present town of Locke, Washington, north of Cusick, was far upriver from Metaline Falls, which itself is 10 miles (16 Km) south of the international border. Ray's map of Kalispel territory does include the territory around the mouth of the Salmo, as well as some territory further northeast in the Salmo Valley (Ray 1936a:103) (Verne Ray's principal Kalispel consultant, a very knowledgeable man named Bob Sherwood, was also one of Allan Smith's main consultants).

The late Allan Smith (1950; 1951; 1954a-c; 1986) recorded that the lower Salmo River area was used by the Kalispel, and was part of their territory.[5] He specifically identified the lower Salmo as a salmon-fishing area and provided two Kalispel place names by which this area was known (see also the discussion in Section 5.2 that follows). Smith indicated that while Kalispel traditional territory lacked the great salmon resources for groups to the west and northwest, "they took some salmon in the northwest Salmo River corner of their country" (A.Smith 1986:228).

Smith also reported that the Pend d'Oreille River downstream from Metaline Falls was not much used by the Kalispel, because getting to this territory from the south was onerous. He described the hazards of the route:

> For the Kalispel, the route down the Pend Oreille River from the Calispell Valley was ordinarily a canoe journey as far as the Box Canyon-Metaline Falls region. Beyond that point they took to the very difficult and dangerous foot trail that followed the river.[6] Travelling was so bad, even in favourable weather, that journeys into and through this canyon and mountainous country were not often made. Nevertheless, parties undertook the canoe and foot journey to obtain the red earth paint that could be secured in the area, to fish and hunt in the Sullivan Lake sector, and to take salmon in the tribal fisheries on the Salmo River. So far as I am aware, horse travel was never attempted along this treacherous trail (A.Smith 1986:252).

All of Smith's Native Kalispel consultants agreed that the Kalispel "who sought salmon in the low C.F.[7] [Clark's Fork]-Salmo R. country left their canoes miles away above the [Metaline] falls in the C.F. & some mention construction of other canoes in the Lower river itself" (A.Smith 1950:332).

In his summary of his field data prepared for the U.S. Indian Claims Commission in 1950, Smith was even more specific about how little the Salmo River area was used by the Kalispel. He stated that:

> Here the [Kalispel] boundary passed through the highly mountainous territory close to Lost Mountain, an area so rugged and remote from the center of Kalispel population in the lower Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille River]Valley that it can hardly have been visited by Kalispel except at most infrequent intervals, and reached the Salmo River near its mouth. In this northwesternmost corner of their territory to which only a few families normally journeyed and then for only a few weeks during the course of the summer and to the north of which no Kalispel ever went, the boundary

> swung southwest, crossed the Clark Fork just below that point where it receives the waters of the Salmo, and then moved in an almost precise southern direction along the heights of the western arm of the Selkirk Mountains for some 90 miles (A.Smith 1950:14)

Because of the difficulties of the journey and the dangers of the fast waters, only men usually made the trip, although occasionally a very strong woman might come along (A.Smith 1950:373).

According to Smith, the Kalispel came to the Salmo River area "at most infrequent intervals" only to get the salmon, never came to this area except during the salmon season, and only stayed long enough to get their supply of salmon, which took about two weeks. They did not stay longer because, apparently, they did not like the place, and much preferred the Kalispel valley region (A.Smith 1950:373). Smith was also told that as irregular as the Kalispel use of the area was, they were not joined by any other tribes when they fished on the Salmo (A.Smith 1950:373).

While Teit on one occasion identified the Salmo River as an ancient Kalispel *hunting* area (Teit 1910-1913), Smith made no mention of the Kalispel hunting in the Salmo River region and his data on Kalispel plant use made no reference to any types of berries or other plants being gathered here (A.Smith 1950:427-475).

Smith acknowledged that the ethnohistoric record of Kalispel use of the Pend d'Oreille-Salmo River area was weak. He also concluded from his own information that because the area was remote and difficult to access, Kalispel use of the area was very irregular, and that only a few of the Kalispel families ever went there. Notwithstanding, Smith concluded that the presence of salmon still made the area important to the Kalispel. He believed that even though the route to the Salmo was hazardous, the Kalispel would come here more often than they would travel to the much more valuable fisheries of the Colville and Lakes people at Kettle Falls, and the Spokane people at or below Spokane Falls. In Smith's judgment, the Kettle Falls and Spokane Falls fisheries were too far away for the Kalispel to exploit effectively as visiting fishermen and salmon traders, particularly because overland foot travel would be required to visit either place (A.Smith 1950:14; 1986:228-229, 256-257).[8]

Smith (1986:256) was critical of Teit's inference that travel routes between the Colville and the Kalispel to the east were easily accessible. In particular, Smith was concerned with Teit's (1930b:356) statement that "trails lay directly west to the centres of the Spokan and Colville through easy country." Smith believed that this overland travel occurred only after the introduction of the horse, and wrote that:

> still in the post-horse and postcontact periods the Kalispel undertook for salmon the canoe and then very difficult foot journey down the Pend d'Oreille to the Salmo River in their own country in preference to the journey south along the lake and first route to the Spokane River fisheries and to that over the high, thickly forested mountains to the Colville River and down that stream valley to Kettle Falls. In making use of the salmon run in the Salmo River, the back-packing return to the point where the canoes were left at the second falls below the Kalispel Valley [Metaline Falls] was hardly more than 16 miles, disregarding the twistings and turnings of the trails and the bad travelling stretches (A.Smith 1986:229).

In contrast, it was a 45-mile trek to the Spokane River from the southern end of Calispell Lake via the Sacheen and Eloika Lakes trail, and the Calispel Valley route to the Colville River via Tacoma Creek and the Little Pend Oreille River was roughly 38 miles, followed by about seven miles down the Colville River to Kettle Falls (A.Smith 1986:229).[9]

Two opportunities existed each year for the Kalispel to take salmon on the Salmo.[10] The first was in July, after the camas was dug, and the second opportunity was in September, when the salmon were spawning (A.Smith 1950:331-333) (see also Section 5.2 that follows, and Section 8.4.1).

Subsequent ethnographic studies of the Kalispel indicate little about the use of the Salmo/ lower Pend d'Oreille region that is not based on Smith's original field work of the 1930s. For example, John Fahey's scholarly study of the Kalispel refers in some detail to Kalispel use of the Salmo River area, but Fahey also indicates that he did no original field work, and relied on Allan Smith's previously-undertaken studies (Fahey 1986:xiii). Sylvester Lahren's (1994; 1998) recent overviews of the Kalispel are primarily reviews of the literature.

A limited amount of ethnographic information has been recorded about the traditional Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) use of the Salmo River and lower Pend d'Oreille River valleys.[11] Significantly, no Lakes place names have been recorded for the Salmo River/Lower Pend d'Oreille River region, other than the Native name for the settlement at Waneta at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille (which is discussed in Section 3.2 of the present report).[12] There are, however, local accounts which make reference to Lakes people's former activities in the Salmo area.

Will Grieve, a non-Native who came to the Fruitvale area in the Beaver Valley as a boy in 1912, recalled:

> There used to be lots [of Indian people] around Colville. They used to come up and fish out of the Salmon [Salmo] River, outside of Salmo. That's where they got all their fish for the winter (Beaver Valley and Pend d'Oreille Valley Historical Society 1997:96).

It is very likely these "Colville" Natives, who Mr. Grieve identified as having fished around Salmo, were Lakes Indians.

Local historian and prospector Bill Barlee (1984:37) noted that Salmo "had been a favourite fishing place for the Lakes Indians" but did not identify the source of this information. Barlee (1984:38), on the basis of his own investigations, indicated the general location of "old Indian fishing sites" on the Salmo River about 3.5 miles (approximatley 5.5 Km) south of Salmo, just south of the Sheep Creek confluence. He also identified "original Indian campsites" on the Salmo River immediately south of the town of Salmo, near the Erie Creek confluence (Barlee 1984:38).

There is no doubt that the "Colville" Natives recalled by Salmo pioneer Rollie Miflin were Lakes Indians. Mifflin (1958:47) described in detail how, in the fall of 1900, he saw a "Colville" Native man — Joe Paul and his son, Gregory Paul — for the first time at Salmo. According to Mr. Mifflin, Joe and Gregory Paul were from "the Colville Indian Reservation near Kettle Falls" (This is the same Joe Paul and Gregory Paul who were known to Mary Marchand as Lakes Indians, and who she described as living "somewhere around the Arrow Lakes" — see Section 3.2).[13] When Joe Paul travelled around the Salmo area, Mifflin (1958:47) noted, he was accompanied by

"a band of about 40 men, women and children, many horses and several dogs."

Mr. Mifflin's detailed, poignant description of Joe Paul and his people's presence in this area was as follows:

> These Indians [Joe Paul and his people], following a custom of their ancestors, came up the Columbia River and its tributaries periodically to trap beaver, mink, muskrat and any other fur-bearing animals they might find. They sold cayuses to prospectors, livery stable operators and to others who might want or need pack or saddle horses. That they crossed the International Boundary at their convenience was of no concern to them.
>
> The first time I saw Joe was in the fall of 1900, when he stopped to see his friend, Chris Willis, who ran a livery stable in Salmo and had pack and saddle horses for hire. Chris sometimes bought horses from Joe. . . . They [Joe Paul and his people] were in their native element. I was the stranger. This was their country... ...the Indians I knew in 1900 [Joe Paul and his people] retained much of their original way of life. They were somewhat nomadic and travelled the Columbia River by canoe. They had and used horses to trek overland.
>
> Joe Paul and those of his tribe usually came to the Salmon River valley at Salmo by way of Beaver Creek, following roughly the route of the railway. Sometimes they came up the Salmon River, having come from the Columbia River by way of the Pend O'Reille River. By whatever route they came they were on familiar ground. This was the land of their ancestors — ancestors who knew not the restrictions of the white man's boundaries and his related laws. ...They lived off the land wherever they went, taking trout from the streams, grouse out of the trees, deer from the meadows and bear from the hills. Beaver, mink, muskrat, weasel, marten and such fur-bearers were plentiful. The Indians took them in the United States or in Canada with impunity...
>
> Joe Paul and his people sold horses as they went through the country to ranchers, loggers, prospectors and livery stable owners...
>
> During the next ensuing years the creatures of nature were harassed by man upon land and in the water. Their numbers decreased as civilization began to close in upon them. Soon it became no longer profitable for the Indians to hunt and trap in the Salmon River valley. Both white and red men were subjected to many laws and restrictions. Indians found an imaginary line had turned into a barrier which they were no longer permitted to cross freely. Canadian and American laws were being enforced; trapping and hunting were restricted. The old life was passing (Mifflin 1958:47-50).

Ethnohistoric Data on the Lower Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River Region's Use

Little ethnohistoric data has been recorded about a Native presence in the lower Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River region. Several accounts written by explorers and traders among the Lower Kalispel commented on the difficult nature of the route down the lower Pend d'Oreille, but did not record that Kalispel people went down the river. Other accounts by traders and clerics indicate, either explicitly or implicitly, that the lower Pend d'Oreille area was not known to them, and consequently they provide no information about Native use of the area. Not until the 1850s and 1860s do first-hand ethnohistoric observations of the area appear to have been recorded. These accounts record that some Lakes and Kutenai people were familiar with the transportation routes into the area. However, none of the accounts records seeing Native people anywhere along the route in this area.

In 1809, fur trader David Thompson travelled west to a group of Kalispel at a site near the present town of Cusick, Washington, and found that they were not very familiar with the Lower Pend d'Oreille route to the mouth of the Columbia. He recorded in his journal entry of September 30th 1809 that he asked the Kalispel:

> how is this River to where it falls into the Columbia, they said it was good, and had only one fall to that River. I requested them to let me have a Canoe, and one of them to come with us as a guide, to which they readily assented, and tomorrow morning we are to set off down the River. This account of the River below us differs very much from the description of this account by the Lake [Lower Kutenai][14] Indian Chief, whose information I could always depend on, he described the River above where it enters the Columbia to be a series of heavy Falls for one and a half day's march to the smooth water, the side of the Falls steep basalt rocks (Glover 1962:299).

After two days travel downriver, Thompson soon discovered that the Lower Kutenai chief had accurately described the river, and that the description given him by the Kalispel of the lower Pend d'Oreille turned out to be entirely wrong. Thompson had to turn back even before reaching the Box Canyon (which is just below the present town of Ione, Washington). He recorded that:

> in sight of a range of high rude Hills covered with Snow, I enquired of our Guide where the River passed, he said, he could not tell, he had never been on the River before; vexed with him, I saw plainly the description given of the lower part of this River by the Lake [Lower Kutenai] Indian Chief was too true, and we had to turn around, having come about twenty six miles in a WNW course (Glover 1962:299).

Thompson's Kalispel guide had never been on this part of the river before. Thompson made another trip down the Pend d'Oreille in 1810, in which he managed to reach the Box Canyon, but got no further because the river was too difficult. This time, he found that his guide had been on the river here before, but only once (Elliott 1932:91). Thompson's guide on the 1810 trip also told him that travel beyond Metaline Falls was rare and difficult:

> My new guide who has once been here pointed out the Country to us.

> Abt 3 M[iles] below us was a Fall [Metaline Falls] this would be passed abt 5 M this was a steep high Fall as the height of a large Tree but could not be approached in this season. The Snow was by far too deep in the mid of summer he told us, they left their Canoes a little distce this Side the Fall & by Hands & Feet got along the steep Rocks to the Fall beyond which no Indians ever penetrate, except a few to gather Red Ochre which is very fine & in plenty among the Mountains, but the Road he described as highly dangerous & passable only to light active men & they obliged to go on hands & Feet up the steep Craigs, which he assured us was continued for distance of 2 ½ days March beyond the Great Fall. Here they (illegible) on the Columbia which down to its junction with the Spokane River is little else but terrible (Elliott 1932:91).

Referring to Thompson's accounts and particularly the guides' lack of knowledge of the area, Allan Smith (1986:252) concluded that "this says much about the infrequency of the Kalispel use of this trail in the late 1700s and early 1800s."

Few other early ethnohistoric accounts following Thompson provide reliable information about the Native use of the lower Pend d'Oreille/ Salmo area. The journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition identify Natives in this area, but their information is not reliable. They identified the "Coospellar [Kalispel] nation" as consisting of 30 lodges and 1600 persons, and residing "on a river which falls into the Columbia to the N. of Clark's River" (Coues 1893:Vol. III:1255). Exactly where these people lived is not clear, particularly since a further sketch by Clark, identified as being drawn from Native sources, places these "Goospellar," on the Columbia itself north of the Pend d'Oreille (Chalfant 1974a:177). Since the Lewis and Clark expedition never went to this area, and never visited the Kalispel, the information simply appears to be inaccurate.[15]

Fur trader Alexander Ross' 1821 map of the Columbia River basin shows the lower Pend d'Oreille system, but the map also indicates that Ross was not familiar with the lowest part of the Pend d'Oreille River. The area around Lake Pend d'Oreille is quite detailed on Ross' map, showing the trading post established by Finan McDonald on the lake. West of the lake, where the Pend d'Oreille River dips to the south, Ross identified what he termed a "Pend d 'oreille camp,"[16] next to a marked "Long Portage Trail" to the Spokane River and beyond. The Pend d'Oreille River is identified by name, as the "Pend d'Oreile or Flathead or Call-is-spollum [Kalispel]" and is shown as connecting with the Columbia. However, no features are identified on the part of the Pend d'Oreille below the camp, this lower part of the Pend d'Oreille is not very accurate cartographically, and the Salmo River is not shown at all (Ross 1821). This suggests that while Ross was very familiar with the area around Lake Pend d'Oreille as far down as the Native camp and the trail to the Spokane country, he was not familiar with the area further down the Pend d'Oreille from that point.

Other information recorded by Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson in 1824 suggests that neither Ross, nor any other trader, had been on the lower Pend d'Oreille by that time. Simpson, passing the mouth of the Pend d' Oreille while coming down the Columbia River, remarked that the HBC had not explored the Lower Pend d'Oreille at all by that time. He wrote in October 1824 that he:

> passed the mouth of the Flat head or Ponderais River from the South, it appeared a large stream but I understand is full of dangerous rapids; it has never been explored which appears somewhat extraordinary considering the short distance between it and Spokane House... (Simpson 1824-1825:23d).

While Simpson had intended that the lower part of the river be explored, and a report compiled, the materials we reviewed do not indicate that this was ever done.[17]

Subsequent reports by John Work also described what he understood as Kalispel territory, or more accurately, the combined territory of the Kalispel and the Pend d'Oreille. While most fur trade records from the 1820s did not distinguish between the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreille, Work's 1829 report made this explicit when he indicated that the group who the traders called the "Pendant d' Orielles" were known as the "Callespellum" [Kalispel] in the "Spokan" language (Work 1829). Work's 1830 report also indicated that the people the traders identified as "Ear Rings" [the English translation of Pendant d' Oreille] were frequently Kalispel, as in a brief statement he made reference to the "Earring Indians or Callespelleems" (Work 1830). This same report did make a more systematic distinction between the Kalispel and the Pend d'Oreille, identifying them as the two tribes of the group known generally as the "Earring" Indians.[18] Work described their lands as follows:

> To the Earring Indians, who consist of two tribes, the Sinahoughquin & the Callespell, assertain the lands on the Earring River from near its discharge to above the present F[lat] Head trading establishment (Work 1830).[19]

The latter part of this territory is obviously Pend d'Oreille, and the boundary between the Kalispel and the Pend d'Oreille is not indicated. But Work clearly indicated that he believed Kalispel territory stretched well down the Pend d'Oreille River to a point near its mouth where it flows into the Columbia.

A map made in the 1840s by the Jesuit missionary Father Jean De Smet also appears to place the Lower Pend d'Oreille and Salmo Rivers within Pend D'Oreille territory. However, like Ross' 1821 map, De Smet's map contains indications that he was not very familiar with this particular area. De Smet's map indicated what he believed to be the boundary in the area, as the "Chaîn de Montagnes qui sépare les Arcs-à-Plats des Kalispels..." (the 'mountain range that separates the Arcs-à-Plats [Lower Kutenai] from the Kalispels'...) (DeSmet [1842-1848]). What appears to be the Salmo River is indicated on the map, entirely within what DeSmet defined as Kalispel territory. However, the Salmo is not named on the map (whereas most rivers of similar size on this map are), the upper part of this river is not drawn very accurately, and indeed, the scale and geographical orientation of the entire area between the Pend d'Oreille and Kootenay Rivers are quite inaccurate. This suggests that even though De Smet's order maintained St. Ignatius Mission further up the Pend d'Oreille (which *is* indicated on the map), De Smet knew relatively little about the Salmo River area.

In 1853, Dr. George Suckley, who was engaged in exploration work on behalf of the Northern Pacific Railway survey, recorded information about Kalispel use of the Lower Pend d'Oreille. Suckley was travelling west by canoe from Montana to St. Ignatius Mission, on the Pend d'Oreille below present-day Cusick, en route to Fort Colville. He had intended to continue by

canoe down the Pend d'Oreille to the Columbia, and made inquiries about the route, but eventually had to make this portion of the trip by horse because his canoe was in poor repair. Of the area between the lower Pend d'Oreille and the Columbia, Suckley wrote, based on the information he had acquired, that:

> I was reluctantly compelled to take horses and proceed to Fort Colville, on the Columbia River, distant sixty miles by land. The distance by the river may be a little more. It is my opinion, from what I could learn by observation and report, that I could have descended the Clark [Pend d'Oreille] River to that point, although, of course, I should have been obliged to use great caution, as nothing definite is known by the Indians, or others, concerning this point of the river. I suppose that the river would be navigable by the Indians in their canoes, if there was any inducement for their so doing. Their hunting grounds lie in another direction... (Suckley 1855:274).

Suckley thus did not travel to the Lower Pend d'Oreille below the mission himself. But the information he secured, likely from Father Hoecken of St. Ignatius Mission,[20] in anticipation of a trip, is that the Kalispel did not go down this part of the river. Suckley also explicitly recorded that the Kalispel did not hunt in this vicinity. While no other ethnographic or ethnohistoric source reviewed suggested that the Kalispel did hunt on the lower part of the Pend d'Oreille, Suckley stated firmly that they did not.

George Gibbs recorded little ethnographic data on the Kalispel, although he did record considerable linguistic information about them (Gibbs 1877). Gibbs recorded from the Spokane Chief, Garry, that there were "two bands of the Pends' oreilles, the one near the [St. Ignatius] mission, the Kahlis-pel, & that at the head of the [Pend d'Oreille] lake, the N'choom-ets-cen" (Gibbs [1854-1855]). Nothing was stated by Gibbs concerning how far down the Pend d'Oreille Kalispel territory extended.

Captain Charles Wilson of the British Boundary Survey Commission identified the "'Kalispelms' or 'Pend-Oreilles'" as living "on the lower part of the Pend'Oreille River," but he did not indicate how far down the Pend d'Oreille they went (Wilson 1866:292). Wilson did record that in the early 1860s, the Kalispels were going to Kettle Falls for salmon. He stated that:

> a great proportion of their food is obtained from the salmon fishery at Colville [Kettle Falls], where in June, July and part of August, they assemble with the 'Sketsuit' [Coeur d'Alene], 'Sweielps' [*sxweyí7lhp*, Colville] and 'Sinuitokistux' [*sngaytskstx*, Lakes] to pay up their winter stock' (Wilson 1866:296).[21]

Between 1859 and the mid-1860s, several expeditions were made between Fort Shepherd and the Kootenay River Valley through the Pend d'Oreille and Salmo Valleys. However, the materials we have reviewed do not indicate that any of these expeditions encountered aboriginal people living or engaging in subsistence activities anywhere along this route.

John Sullivan, a member of Palliser's expedition, left Fort Shepherd in September 1859 to go up the Pend d'Oreille and Salmo Valleys while exploring the lands to the east of the fort. Sullivan reached the mouth of the Salmo River (which he called the "Salmon" River) on September 11th, 1859. At this time, the Lower

Pend d'Oreille up to the Salmo was occupied by gold miners who were mining the flats and bars of the river.[22] A man whom Sullivan alternatively identified as a "half-breed" and an "Iroquois" was mining at the mouth of the Salmo (Sullivan, in Spry 1968:481). Sullivan did not record encountering any other Natives along the Pend d'Oreille or the lower part of the Salmo. Indeed, he specifically indicated that the trail on the lower Salmo was blocked by logs and heavily overgrown, and the passage was extremely difficult. His journal stated that:

> Here our party experienced great difficulty in pushing through the masses of fallen timber and dense undergrowth, which latter was so tightly interlaced as almost to defy the power of the axe altogether. My [Lakes] Indians were in favour of returning to the fort. I told them that it was my determination to advance, and at once packed the horses with all the articles that were not absolutely necessary for the journey, including about half the provisions with which we left Fort Colvile, and sent them back to Fort Shepherd (Sullivan, in Spry 1968:481).

Sullivan's journal did not actually indicate that a trail existed. However his diary entry for September 19th, 1859 did, and commented that it was very bad. The entry stated that they "plodded on a most miserable road, fallen timber, dense green woods and bad mountains." The entries for the days spent on the trail contain similar comments. For instance the entry of September 24th stated that they "pushed through an enormous quantity of fallen timber, crossing and recrossing the stream and climbing about almost like squirrels" (Sullivan, in Spry 1968:585).

At higher altitudes, near the summit of the mountains, the trail seems to have disappeared. In one place, Sullivan encountered a trail which he had hoped was an Indian trail, but he was soon disappointed:

> At the height of land I was in hopes that we had struck an Indian trail, when suddenly our guide informed me that we had been travelling for the last half hour, not upon on Indian, but a carriboeuf road, and that we were now forced to leave it. Carriboeufs frequent this part of the country in large numbers, as the woods are traversed by their beaten track (Sullivan, in Spry 1968:482).

Sullivan thought that while no trail existed, and the route was blocked in many places by fallen timber, a road could be built along this route. His information clearly suggests, however, that travel along this route for some time before 1859 would have been by water, not by land.

The lowest part of the Pend d'Oreille River and the Salmo River explored by Sullivan in 1859 was also part of what became known as the Dewdney Trail, established by Edgar Dewdney in 1865 at the request of the Colonial government. The trail ultimately led to the goldfields at Wildhorse Creek in the East Kootenay. The part of the trail between the Columbia and the Kootenay largely followed the trails mapped by Sullivan in 1859, and ran up the Pend d'Oreille and Salmo River valleys over Summit Creek Pass to the Kootenay Flats. A rough trail had actually first been blazed over this part of the route in 1864 by the Hudson's Bay Company, under the direction of Chief Trader J.W. McKay of Fort Kamloops. An account of the construction of this trail was given in 1920 by J.W. Martin, who had supervised its actual construction. Martin recalled

that:

> That trail was cut out by the H.B. Co. & the object was that their pack trains could take their supplies into the Kootenay Country without crossing the boundary. The late Mr. R. Finlayson, then Chief Factor of H.B. Co came to Kamloops early in year 1864 and told Mr. J.W. McKay, then Chief Trader there to send me to Colville & there organize a party to construct the trail from Osoyoos lake to the head of Kootenay Lake. Mr. McDonald then in charge of the Colville post supplied me with 19 Columbia Lake [Lakes]Indians & one half breed named Campbell... On arrival at Fort Shepherd the man Campbell quit & only had the 19 Indians — After crossing the river we proceeded up the Pend d'Oreille & reaching a creek (called Salmon Creek by us as we caught salmon there) we struck straight for the head of Kootenay Lake (Martin 1920).

Martin did not any record encountering any Native people along the Pend d'Oreille-Salmo route at the time of his work in 1864. Like several others, he recorded that the mouth of the Salmo was a good place to catch salmon. Most importantly, he indicated that the crew he had been given to work this area were "Columbia Lake Indians" (i.e., Lakes Indians) supplied out of Fort Colville. They were hired as a road gang, not as guides, but the fact that they were willing to go along this route, and that no other people were hired specifically as guides, both suggest that they had some familiarity with the Pend d'Oreille-Salmo route.

British Columbia's Colonial Secretary, Arthur Birch, travelled up this trail in October 1864 shortly after its completion. While his report made frequent acerbic comments about the poor quality of the trail,[23] it made no reference to indigenous people being encountered anywhere along the Pend d'Oreille, Salmo or Summit Creek, until he reached the Kootenay River (Birch, in MacFie 1865:256-257).

Dewdney referred to this stretch of "McKay's road" in an 1865 report, indicating that "upon this some little (very little) work was done by the Hudson's Bay Co. Last year and a few horses went through. This will require an entirely new line" (Dewdney 1865c). No ethnographic information was provided by Dewdney about the area along the route in either this report, his final report on the blazing of the entire trail, with its recommendations for road construction (Dewdney 1865d) or his subsequent, more detailed memoir (Gosnell 1908).

James Turnbull of the Columbia River Exploration Expedition travelled along this route in October 1865, and while he made frequent comments on the poor condition of the trail, he did not make any references to any natives or Native activity encountered on his journey either (Turnbull 1865:30-31). He did indicate that the guides he hired to take him along this route to Kootenay Lake were hired at Fort Shepherd, and he had earlier noted that part of "Gregoire's Band" [i.e., Lakes Indians] were at Fort Shepherd (Turnbull 1865:27).[24]

In August 1866, Walter Moberly of the Columbia River Exploration Expedition passed by here on his way up the Dewdney Trail to the Kootenay River south of the Lake. He camped at "the crossing of the Salmon River." While Moberly did not indicate that Native people were camped here at this time, he did note that he "speared several fine salmon in river" here (Moberly 1869:16).

5.2 PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LOWER PEND D'OREILLE/SALMO RIVER REGION

Mouth of the Salmo River

There is some contradiction in Allan Smith's 1936-1938 data concerning Kalispel place names referring to a fishing area near the mouth of the Salmo River, and to the river, itself (A.Smith 1950:373-375, 482, 535, 566; 1954b; 1954c) (see Map 5).

One of the Kalispel consultants who identified the Salmo River by its Native name was Bob Sherwood. Mr. Sherwood used the Kalispel place name "*čaxe ́uɬkʷ*," which he did not translate, to refer to the Salmo River (A.Smith 1950:482). At one point in Smith's draft ethnography, he summarized his notes from Sherwood on this place name as follows:

> This river ["*čaxe ́uɬkʷ*," Salmo River], referred to by Sherwood as the Salmon River, is in Canada, /in the extreme northern portion of Kalispel territory/. It is a small stream which can be forded at any time during the summer. There was one salmon fishing place on this river which was visited in July and again in September... (A.Smith 1950:482).

Elsewhere in his draft ethnography, Smith cited information about this same place name (transcribed, again, as "*čaxe ́uɬkʷ*" and again, not translated) which suggested it was applied not to the Salmo River, itself, but to the falls where the Kalispel fished, on the lower Salmo. This information seems to have come from one of his Kalispel consultants, "OET," as interpreted by a man named "JA," and with some additional comments by Bob Sherwood. Smith wrote:

> /Most of what little/ salmon /were caught/ were secured at one fishing locality on the lower Salmo River (*čaxe ́uɬkʷ*) [here Smith placed the following footnote: "According to my interpreter (JA), OET gave this native name not to this river but to the falls where they camped and caught salmon. (Cf. preceding footnote)"]. They began their fishing at the mouth of the stream and proceeded upriver for some distance, perhaps, BS [Bob Sherwood] conjectured, as much as several miles (A.Smith 1950:374).

On still another occasion, the same Kalispel term was given, transcribed this time as "*čaxi ́uλɪkʷ*" (again, not translated). The Native consultant was not identifed on this occasion; Smith wrote that "*čaxi ́uλɪkʷ*" was:

> A falls on the lower Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille] where the Kalispel caught salmon. /It would appear to be the same locality as that referred to by the general term *axni ́tᵊkʷɪ*... (A.Smith 1950:535).

Additional confusion is caused by the fact that what Smith referred to here as the Kalispel "general term *axni ́tᵊkʷɪ*" is itself given elsewhere in his draft ethnography, where it is translated as 'falls,' and where the following information is given about "*axni ́tᵊkʷɪ*":

> A falls on the lower Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille] near the Columbia River and on the northern boundary of their [Kalispel] territory. [the following words are added in here, in Smith's handwriting: "OET (JA) placed it at the point of junction of the Clark Fork

> and the *čaxe´uɬkʷ* (Salmo River)"]. Here the Kalispel caught salmon. (Cf. "*čaxi´uλɪkʷ*")... (A.Smith 1950:566).

Adding still further to the confusion is Allan Smith's (1950:375) reference, in yet another portion of his draft ethnography, to the term "*sx̌ni´tᵊkʷɪ*" which he also identified as "the generic word for 'rapids, falls'." Clearly "*axni´tᵊkʷɪ*" (Smith 1950:566), discussed above, and "*sx̌ni´tᵊkʷɪ*" (Smith 1950:375) are variant transcriptions of the same term, although it is not clear that Smith, himself, recognized their linguistic similarity. The context in which Smith mentioned "*sx̌ni´tᵊkʷɪ*" was immediately after he had noted comments by "JP" (another Kalispel consultant) about the Kalispel fishing on the Pend d'Oreille River at what was very likely Metaline Falls (about 10 miles south of the international border):

> OET (JA), on the other hand, averred that the Kalispel caught salmon at the falls known as *sx̌ni´tᵊkʷɪ* [here Smith placed the following footnote: "This is the generic word for 'rapids, falls.' Possibly these are the falls referred to on another occasion as *čaxe´uɬkʷ*. / (Cf. Footnotes)"] which was "way down the Clark Fork" [Pend d'Oreille] on the northern limit of Kalispel territory. /This falls appears to have been on the Clark Fork just above the mouth of the Salmo River./ Here the fish were caught in a trough-shaped basket trap as they attempted to leap the falls (A.Smith 1950:375).

What we conclude from this data, despite the seeming contradictions and inconsistences, is that there *was* a fishing area — consisting likely of rapids and a waterfall — located somewhere in the lower region of the Salmo River, not far up from its confluence with the Pend d'Oreille River, and that the Kalispel fished there and camped there. We also conclude that the Kalispel knew this fishing area and/or the Salmon River, itself, by the Kalispel term "*čaxe´uɬkʷ*" ("*čaxi´uλɪkʷ*"). The fishing area on the Salmo was known by a more general Kalispel term "*sx̌ni´tᵊkʷɪ*" ("*axni´tᵊkʷɪ*") which means 'falls; rapids.' We recognize this general Kalispel term for 'falls; rapid' as it is clearly cognate with the Okanagan-Colville term *sx̲wenítkw* which we have translated elsewhere as 'large waterfall' or 'roaring or noisy water; type of waterfall' (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:1; Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:369), and Elmendorf (1935-1936:I:1) has translated as 'roaring waters' [*sx̲wenítkw* is the well-known name for the famous salmon fishery at Kettle Falls, Washington; the Kalispel also participated in this Kettle Falls fishery (Work 1830; A.Smith 1950:378; Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:346, 351, 365)].[25]

According to Smith, two opportunities existed each year for the Kalispel to take salmon on the Salmo. The first was in July, after the camas was dug, and the second opportunity was in September, when the salmon were spawning (A.Smith 1950:331-333).The same type of salmon was caught here in both July and September, the difference being that the September fish had spawned. The July fish were called "*sulí´č*"[?], whereas the September fish were known as "scɛ´λəwɛ´s" which means 'spawned out fish' (A.Smith 1950:377).

Only a few Kalispel families normally travelled to the Salmo, and then only at most infrequent intervals (A.Smith 1950:14). Smith wrote:

> According to OET (JA), only a few people would first make the trip,

> sometimes two men alone, sometimes a couple of families. They fished at the falls known as *čaxe'uɬkʷ* [lower Salmo River]. When they had tried their luck for a day or two, they were in a position to determine whether there were many salmon. If that were the case, one man would come back up the Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille] to tell those who remained back home. Then all the Kalispel wishing to fish would go down (A.Smith 1950:373).

Smith identified three fishing techniques that were used on the lower Salmo River: spear; stranding trap; and falls trap (A.Smith 1950; 1954a; 1954b). Different techniques were used in July and September:

> In mid-summer (July) salmon were speared in the Salmo River with the two-pronged *wɛ'eč* spear,[26] when the river was so shallow that it could easily be forded. And again in September when the river was /still/ low, they were impaled with this device from the bank or by wading into the stream. At this latter season the fish were spawning, and, having completed their mission were drifting downstream fatigued and dying.[27] On another occasion it is stated that these fish were speared in the deep holes where there were 3 or 4 feet of water (A.Smith 1950:331-333).

Smith recorded that salmon were also speared under the light of torches in the Salmo River (A.Smith 1950:325).[28]

Concerning the "stranding trap," Smith wrote that "in September, when the salmon were descending the Salmo River after spawning, the Lower Kalispel built a stranding trap, *ƀene'pᶜ*,[29] for them there" (A.Smith 1950:354). This device was not used in the summer, only in the fall (A.Smith 1950:375). Bob Sherwood, one of Smith's principal Kalispel consultants, indicated that he had personally seen a stranding trap on the Salmo River, and described it in detail as follows:

> From each bank of the stream, a deflecting wall, 30 or 40 yards long, was constructed of piled rocks. Together they formed a /narrow/ V, point downstream, each arm forming but a slight angle with the bank to prevent the water and fish from piling up against it and passing over it. At the apex of the V was left an opening, 6 or 8 feet wide, where a flat frame of woven sticks was placed. This platform measured about 6 by 20 feet. Its warps consisted of sticks, 1½ inches in diameter, of tamarack, blackpine (lodgepole pine), young fir, or perhaps of still other kinds woven together, wicker-work fashion, with wafts every 5 or 6 inches of willow bark, or if that were scarce, of cedar inner bark . . . The platform was constructed in two separate pieces. The upstream segment, the shorter of the two, was placed with its upstream end on the river bottom, and its lower end on a log which extended between the ends of the stone dams. The upper end of the longer downstream section was then laced to the lower end of the upper one with willow or cedar bark / cord/... So that the fish would not fall off, a 1 foot strip along the two sides of the platform was bent sharply upward at a 45° angle...

> Immediately against the lower edge of the downstream segment of this fish platform was built a second platform 3 feet square. Four poles were erected, one at each corner, and were connected with two horizontal poles. Sticks were then placed from one horizontal pole to the other to form a platform, about 1 feet [foot] above the water.
>
> The procedure called for all the men who were around at the time to wade down the stream from above, scaring the fish into the V to be stranded on the platform as the water fell through it. Dogs were not used to assist the driving and no shouting was necessary, for the salmon were "wild." Actually the fish, on their way downstream, would have stranded themselves in given time, but the men were in a hurry. Meanwhile one man — the platform was not large enough for more — sat on the separate small platform below the fish one and killed the fish as they became stranded, using a club... (A.Smith 1950:354-355).

The third technique for catching salmon on the lower Salmo River was referred to by Smith both as a "falls trap" (A.Smith 1950:353; 1954a; 1954b) and as a "trough-shaped basket trap" (A.Smith 1950:375). Smith noted that actually there were two types of "falls traps" — one he called a "conical falls trap" (suspended over a falls in April to catch spawning rainbow trout, but not used on the Salmo), and the other he called a "trough type falls trap" (A.Smith 1950:351-353).

Smith reported that this latter type of trap, which *was* used in the lower Salmo River, was woven and was suspended from a strong pole constructed adjacent to the falls so that the salmon would fall into it as they attempted to get over the falls. While it appears that Smith did not record the Kalispel name for this trap in his 1950 study, he did note that it was about 10 feet in length and that the trough measured about 4 1/2 feet (A.Smith 1950a:353). These dimensions, and the basic description of the trap's construction, are consistent with what we have described in detail elsewhere — among the Colville, and especially at Kettle Falls — as a "J-shaped basketry trap," known as *ts'elí7* in the Okanagan-Colville language (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:37-42) (see Figure 27).

Section 5.0 Endnotes

[1] Very few archaeological sites along the lower Pend d'Oreille River have been recorded. While a Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) village has been recorded at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille (at its confluence with the Columbia), it appears that almost no winter villages of any aboriginal group have been recorded anywhere farther up the Pend d'Oreille in Canadian territory (or quite some distance south of it), or anywhere along the Salmo. Even seasonal campsites appear to have been rare on the lower Pend d'Oreille or Salmo Rivers.

[2] This same language is also referred to as the "Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead" language, reflecting the three dialect divisions, each of which is often referred to as if it were an individual language (Kinkade, Elmendorf, Rigsby and Aoki 1998:51; Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:2-5).

[3] An earlier ethnological map, prepared in 1853 (and printed in 1854), also identified Kalispel territory in British Columbia. This map of Washington State Indian tribes, prepared by Isaac Stevens, delineated a narrow strip of "Lower Pend-Oreilles or Kahlispelm [Kalispel]" territory

extending along the U.S./Canada boundary. Although this map's scale makes distances difficult to estimate with precision, this strip of territory is indicated as extending from as far west as the area where the Pend d'Oreille River flows into British Columbia (west from Nelway), to as far east as the area where Grass Creek (originating in Idaho) flows into Boundary Creek (which flows more-or-less parallel to the U.S. border, but on the B.C. side). This represents a west-to-east distance of about 25 miles (40 Km). It is difficult to say how far north this strip of territory extends — it seems to be approximately 2-3 miles (about 3-5 Km) (Stevens 1854, in, Fuller 1974:Appendix A-9).

Like Stevens' map, the scale of Teit's (1910-1913) "Map 3" makes precise distance estimates difficult. But this Teit map appears to define the west-to-east distance of Kalispel territory along the international border to be approximately 30 miles (about 50 Km) (as discussed, the northern tip of this wedge-shaped portion of Kalipel territory extended almost to Nelson). The western boundary on Teit's "Map 3" is located where the Pend d'Oreille River flows into B.C., west from Nelway, and the eastern boundary is slightly east from where Grass Creek flows into Boundary Creek (see the discussion above), perhaps as far east as the area where the creek flowing down from Mount Rykert crosses the border (Teit 1910-1913:Map 3). These same approximate boundaries of Teit's "Map 3" (for Kalispel territory) are reflected in Boas' (1928) map of linguistic distribution, as Boas relied on Teit for his Plateau language distribution data.

[4] This Metaline Falls boundary was later recorded independently by ethnologist Stuart Chalfant in the 1950s (Chalfant n.d.; 1974a:225) and by ourselves from one of our Lakes consultants, Mary Marchand, in the 1970s-1980s (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:125).

Like Teit's "Map 3" discussed above, his "Map 4" delineation of Kalispel territory in B.C. extends almost as far north as Nelson. The west-to-east distance, however, is slightly different on "Map 4" — it extends from the vicinity of Nelway, east to the general area where Grass Creek flows into Boundary Creek (see the preceding footnote), a distance of about 20 miles (32 Km) (Teit 1910-1913:Map 4).

[5] Smith's Kalispel research of 1936-1938, written up in his 1950 draft ethnography and discussed in a deposition prepared for the Indian Claims Commission, provides a map of Kalispel territory (A.Smith 1950; 1951). On a highway map of Washington, Idaho, Montana, and southern British Columbia (the original of which appears together with Smith's 1951 deposition), Smith drew the outline of Kalispel terrtitory. Its extent in B.C. in a west-to-east direction is from a point about 5 miles (8 Km) west from where the Pend d'Oreille River crosses the international border, to a point where the Priest River crosses this same border [and is called the Upper Priest River on the B.C. side of the border]. This distance from west to east is approximately 25 miles (40 Km). The most northerly extent of this boundary is indicated just north of the Salmo River/ Pend d'Oreille River confluence which itself is about 3 miles (5 Km) north of the border. This same outer boundary of overall Kalispel territory, traced from this same highway map, appears on page 13 of Smith's 1950 draft ethnography. This latter tracing, in turn, was the basis for the Kalispel territory map that appears in Lahren's (1998:284) recently-published article (see Figure 10 in the present report).

Smith identified the same point along the international border — where Priest River crosses — that he had previously identified with respect to the extent of Kalispel territory, when he outlined his views of the overall boundary of Kutenai territory in a 1984 report (A.Smith 1984:24-27).

[6] Smith recorded in his draft Kalispel ethnography that:

> Twice a year, in July as soon as the camas were dug and again in September, a party journeyed down the Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille]/ to the northwestern corner of their territory/ for the specific purpose of catching salmon. They made the trip by canoe to Box Canyon, portaged them from here all the way to the lower side of Upper Metaline Falls, a

> distance of at least 4 miles, and then proceeded by canoe again as far as Lower Metaline Falls. There they abandoned their canoes and walked the rest of the way to the Salmo River (A.Smith 1950:373).

[7] "C.F." is the abbreviation for Clark's Fork, the old American term for the Pend d'Oreille River, from its outlet at the northwest end of Lake Pend Oreille until its confluence with the Columbia River; sometimes this is referred to as the "Lower Pend Oreille River." Today the term "Clark Fork" refers to the river that empties into the eastern side of Lake Pend Oreille, and is referred to sometimes as the "Upper Pend d'Oreille River."

[8] Smith's views notwithstanding, there are numerous ethnohistoric and ethnographic references to Kalispel participation in the Kettle Falls fishery (eg. Work 1830; Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:346, 351, 365).

[9] Fur trade records document Kalispel travel to Fort Spokane and Fort Colvile. For example, Ross' (1821) map indicated the trail from west of Lake Pend d'Oreille to the Spokane Country. Work (1830) indicated that snow closed the trail between Fort Colville and the Pend d'Oreille in the winter, and that it was seldom passable for horses before the end of March. The 1822-1823 Spokane House journal recorded a constant traffic of "Ear Ring" people, which referred to both Kalispel as well as Pend d'Oreille, to the post. Sometimes they did not even come to trade, but simply to smoke, or to gamble with the Spokane (McDonald and Birnie 1822-1823). Work's 1830 report described the "Earring" Indians, who he explicitly identified as Kalispel, as coming occasionally to Fort Colville, whereas the Lake, Colville, Sanpoil, Spokane and Coeur d'Alene came regularly. His table of goods traded from the different tribes indicated that the Kalispel brought more furs than most of the "regular" groups. The Kalispel also appear to have been regular participants at the Kettle falls fishery in the early 19th century (Work 1830).

[10] A Kalispel legend has been recorded which explains why the Kalispel had to go as far as the Salmo River to get their salmon, which were blocked from advancing further up the lower Pend d'Oreille by a vertical falls — one of Smith's consultants estimated this falls to be from 12 to 16 feet in height. The creation of these falls was attributed to Coyote, who punished the Kalispel for refusing him a wife by stopping the salmon from coming upriver. Smith recorded the story, from one of his Kalispel Native consultants, "MI," as follows:

> When Coyote brought salmon up /the Columbia River/, he stopped them at the mouth of the Clark Fork [Pend d'Oreille] while he proceeded /alone/ up the tributary. He created Albeni Falls as a spearing place for salmon and only a short distance above these rapids he made a shallow place where a weir could be constructed. Then he came back down the river to the location of the present "village" and requested a wife from the Kalispel. He was refused, however. So he replied "All right. You'll have to go a long way for your salmon." He then continued on down the river and made the falls near its mouth to prevent the salmon from ascending the stream (A.Smith 1950:372).

[11] Several archaeological sites have been recorded in the lower portion of the Pend d'Oreille downriver from the mouth of the Salmo. Archaeological field investigations undertaken in this area in the 1970s found only two significant sites along the Pend d'Oreille, both of which were near the mouth of Limpid Creek. It was concluded that both of these sites were temporary hunting and fishing camps, as they lacked the greater variety of artifact styles for all type of subsistence activities that would be found at more permanent camps. A radiocarbon sample from one of these two archaeological sites was dated at 320 ± 120 B.P. [1510-1750 A.D.], while a sample from the other site was slightly older, at 1400 ±100 B.P. [450-650 A.D.] (Bussey 1981:72-73).

[12] We noted earlier in this report that the presence of

recorded *sngaytskstx* (Lakes) place names in such areas as the West Arm of Kootenay Lake was an important factor in determining that the *sngaytskstx* traditionally used this area. The existence of recorded Indian place names reflects Native knowledge of the landscape, and is an important indication of traditional use. Moreover, the principal ethnographers who elicited data from the *sngaytskstx* — Teit in the early 1900s, Ray in the 1920s and 1930s, Elmendorf in the 1930s, and ourselves in the 1970s and 1980s — all placed considerable importance on the recording of place names. Thus we consider it significant that with reference to the lower Pend d'Oreille/Salmo region, none of the ethnographers who have worked with the Lakes people have identified any *sngaytskstx* place names in the Pend d'Oreille or Salmo Valleys beyond the site of Waneta, at the Pend d'Oreille River mouth. But we would add that the absence of recorded place names in this region does not necessarily demonstrate a lack of traditional Lakes use. By the time Ray recorded his Lakes information in the 1920s-1930s, it appears the Lakes people were not making regular use of this region. While Chief James Bernard, the source of Ray's data, knew about the Lakes use of such areas as the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, his knowledge of other areas was much less comprehensive. This problem was magnified at the time of our own Lakes research, 50-60 years after Ray's. Even Teit's work in the early 1900s was undertaken after most of the Lakes people had gone south.

[13] Mr. Clark Marshall remembered Joe and Gregory Paul — and Gregory's brother, Peter Paul — around Burton and Oatscott in the 1920s. As far as Mr. Marshall knew, these Indian people came from "across the Line" (Marshall 1999b:pers. com.)

[14] This was a man whom Thompson identified only as "Ugly Head," (so named from his hair curling). He was a Lower Kutenai, as at this time Thompson consistently used the term "Lake Indians" to refer to the Lower Kutenai (Glover 1962:284).

[15] This map by Clark identified another Nation, the "*Lahanna*" on the Columbia, above the mouth of Clark's River [the Pend d'Oreille], *south* of where they placed the Kalispel. We do not know who this term "*Lahanna*" was intended to represent. Many of Lewis and Clark's transcriptions of Indian names are very poor, and the term "*Lahanna*" is not close to the name of any group known to live in or near the area. We cannot determine whether the term "*Lahanna*" is simply a very bad transcription, an error resulting from the fact that the expedition did not actually visit the area, or whether the name may in fact have identified some group of aboriginal people whose name is no longer known.

[16] This would have been a Kalispel camp, not the group presently known as the Pend d'Oreille. See the discussion following.

[17] Simpson indicated in his October 1824 journal that "I shall take care that it [the lower Pend d'Oreille] be examined next Season as it would be highly important for us that the Flat Head Post could be supplied by water instead of Land Carriage (Simpson 1824-1825). Simpson subsequently told Work in April 1825 that:

> If you can dispense with the services of Mr. Dease in the course of the summer, I wish him to be sent with a couple of Indians to explore the Flat Head River as far as the Pondorais camp at the camass plain... (Simpson 1825).

Presumably Dease did undertake this exploration, as he reported in April 1827 that the "Flat head River" is only in part navigable, for considerable distances before it falls into the Columbia. Stupendous cataracts water falls etc. renders it impracticable in the lower parts" (Dease 1827). John Work's 1830 report on Colvile District suggested that the traders avoided the Lower Pend d'Oreille. In a discussion of the navigable waterways in the region, Work noted that "the lower part of the Earring River is impassable for crafts, but it afterwards becomes navigable to near its head" (Work 1830).

[18] In a table elsewhere in Work's (1830) report, he wrote that both of these groups of "Earring" Indians were "both

termed Callespelleem by their neighbours" (Work 1830).

[19] This augured a later distinction made by some in the 19th century in which the Kalispel were identified as the "Lower Pend d'Oreille" as distinguished from the "Upper Pend d'Oreille" of the Flathead Lake area (Lahren 1998:296).

[20] Subsequently in his account, Suckley indicated that:

> from the Reverend Mr. Hocken I have the following particulars concerning the mission and the condition of the inhabitants in the vicinity: The mission was established nine years ago; the whole country at that time being a vast wilderness. Its inhabitants were the Kalispelms. They lived mostly from the Pend d'Oreille, or Kalispelm lake, down the Clark River, to this point [St. Ignatius Mission] (Suckley 1855:278).

[21] In a subsequent discussion, Wilson indicated that the Kalispel, along with these other groups and the Spokane, got their salmon "from the Columbia and Spokan Rivers" (Wilson 1866:297).

[22] Barlee's history of the mining in this area states that the mining spread from the Pend d'Oreille to the Salmo River, and Erie, Hall, Forty-Nine, Lost, Rover, and Quartz Creeks (Barlee 1984:101). We are not aware of any contemporary documents from this early mining boom which describe Native land use in the Salmo or upper Pend d'Oreille Rivers.

[23] Birch noted that the inclines were not graded and that "it seems to have been the ambition of the road party to carry the trail through as many swamps as possible" (Birch, in MacFie 1865:256).

[24] Turnbull did not explicitly state that the guides he hired for this particular trip were from Gregoire's Band (i.e., were Lakes Indians). However the fact that they were hired at Fort Shepherd, and the fact that they deserted Turnbull when they reached the ferry crossing at the Kootenay River just south of Kootenay Lake, and refused to take Turnbull north to the head of Kootenay Lake, *suggests* that they may have been Lakes. On the return trip, which was also undertaken via the Ferry Crossing and the Dewdney Trail, the identity of the guides was not specified either, but given that they appear to have been the same people who took Turnbull to the head of Kootenay Lake, and showed him Kinbasket's trail, it is very likely that they were Kutenai.

Other ethnohistoric data indicate that some Kutenai people were familiar with the routes through this area. In 1809, David Thompson's journal indicated that the Lower Kutenai Chief he called "Ugly Head" (who seems to have been from Bonner's Ferry) knew the Pend d'Oreille well, and had given him a very good description of the terrain, describing the River above where it entered the Columbia for a day and a half's march (Glover 1962:299). While this certainly indicates that this Kutenai Chief knew the area, it does not necessarily indicate that this was traditional Kutenai territory. This particular Chief seems to have had a very wide knowledge of a broad geographical region. He had earlier personally guided Thompson's party from the Libby area to Canteen Flats, showing acute knowledge of Upper Kutenai lands, and Thompson indicated the party could never have crossed the mountains they had come over without his assistance (Glover 1962:286). This same Chief also knew the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille at the Columbia, which is well documented as a Lakes settlement. So he had clearly travelled widely in areas outside Lower Kutenai territory.

[25] The root *xwen* meaning 'roaring sound' (as in *sxwenítkw*) is also the root of the Okanagan-Colville term *nxwentkwítkw* ('having roaring or noisy water') which is used by speakers of the Okanagan-Colville language to refer to the Columbia River in its entirety (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:369).

[26] On the next page of his draft ethnography, Smith (1950:332) referred to this same implement as a harpoon, rather than a spear.

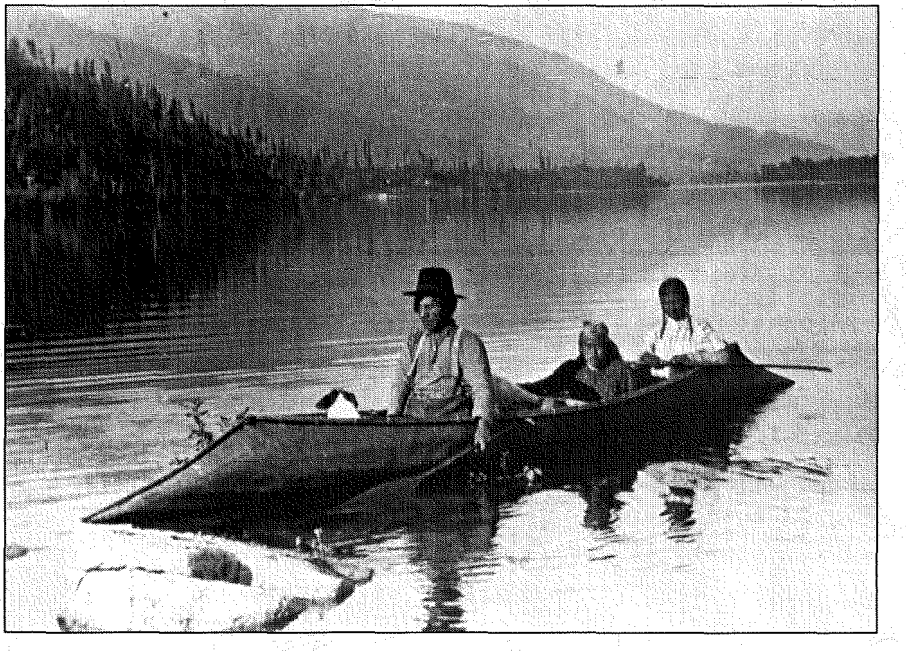
[27] Smith (1950:375) noted that Kalispel fishermen could

also pick up these spawned-out fish with their hands, if these fish were still alive.

[28] Smith recorded that the long cedar pole was detached from the foreshaft-point after the fishing was completed, with the pole being left behind in a tree to be recovered the following year (A.Smith 1950:316).

[29] The Kalispel term "*ṗene ́pᶜ* " used by Smith to identify this "stranding trap" is cognate with the Okanagan-Colville term *p'nip*. Elsewhere we have provided a detailed description of the construction and use of this trap (*p'nip*) and accompanying weir by the Colville; we refer to the trap and weir together as a "V-shaped basketry trap" (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:34-37).

AREA K: KOOTENAY RIVER / WEST ARM OF KOOTENAY LAKE / KOOTENAY LAKE / CRESTON



6.0 AREA K: KOOTENAY RIVER / WEST ARM OF KOOTENAY LAKE / KOOTENAY LAKE / CRESTON

This region of the overall study area extends from near the confluence of the Kootenay River with the Columbia, up the Kootenay River and the West Arm of Kootenay Lake as well as Kootenay Lake in its entirety, and the area south of Kootenay Lake, from Creston to the United States border (see Maps 5 and 6).

6.1 NATIVE USE OF THE KOOTENAY RIVER/ KOOTENAY LAKE REGION

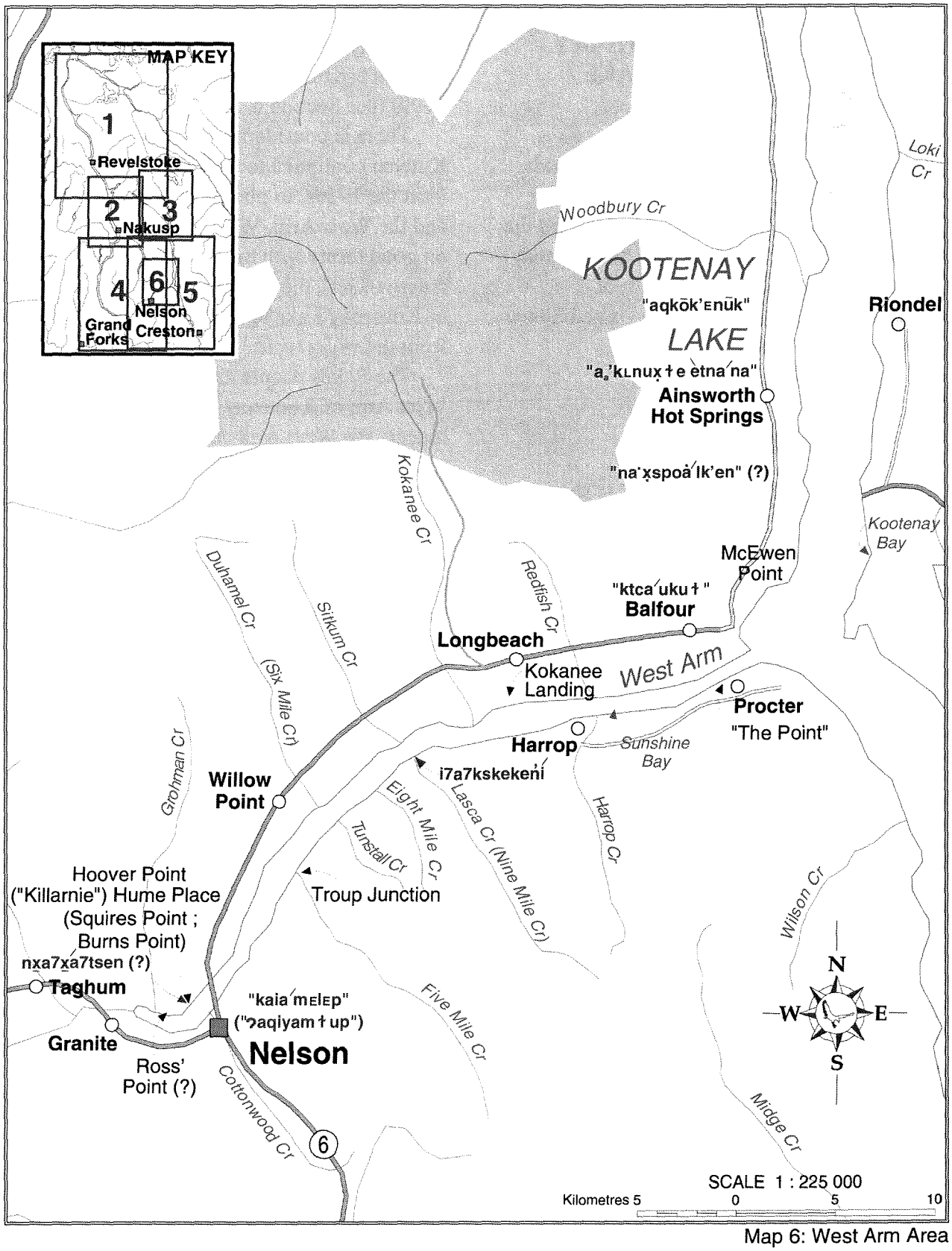
The principal settlements of the Lower Kutenai in this region were in the vicinity of present-day Creston, where they remain today. Their seasonal round took them south up the Kootenay River (which flows into the south end of Kootenay Lake), north throughout Kootenay Lake and the West Arm, and up into the mountains on the north, west, and east sides of Kootenay Lake. The Lower Kutenai are not known to have had any permanent settlements on the Lake itself, however (see also Section 6.2 that follows, as well as Section 3.2).

The traditional presence of Lower Kutenai people south from the lower end of Kootenay Lake in the vicinity of present-day Creston has been repeatedly identified in the literature. The Native name for the Lower Kutenai, which appears in Brunton's (1998:226) article as "*ʔaˑkaq̓ɬahaɬxu*," has been translated as 'people of the lake' (Chamberlain n.d.), 'swamp people' (Schaeffer 1935, in Chalfant 1974b:51), or 'meadow people' (Brunton 1998:226). Another Kutenai term, "*yaqan nukiy*" ('the people where the rock is standing'), has recently been provided to identify the "Lower Kootenay band near Creston" (Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council 1999) (see Section 6.2).

There is considerable evidence that the Lower Kutenai continued to travel regularly, up until at least the 1930s, to places around Kootenay Lake and the West Arm. When the Lower Kutenai were on good terms with the Lakes people (*sngaytskstx*), they travelled beyond the West Arm of Kootenay Lake to fish and purchase salmon from the *sngaytskstx*.

The Lakes people also used and occupied the West Arm of Kootenay Lake (see Section 6.2) — indeed, the West Arm area has been identified by several sources as the boundary between the Lakes and the Lower Kutenai.[1] When the Lakes enjoyed good relations with the Kutenai, the Lakes people may have used portions of Kootenay Lake as well, although the available data suggest that Kootenay Lake was an area of marginal importance to the *sngaytskstx*.

Among the early ethnographic sources to identify the Lower Kutenai was George Dawson who in 1883 collected Kutenai vocabulary and prepared a map showing tribal distribution.[2] Dawson identified the "Lower Kootanie" as "*Akoklako*." [3] His map defined their territory to include all of Kootenay Lake (and the area south of Kootenay Lake to the U.S. border and beyond), the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, almost all of the Slocan (which is not actually delineated on this map), all of Kootenay River down to its mouth and across to the west side of the Columbia River, all of the Columbia River from above Castlegar south to around Northport, Washington, then east, parallel to the U.S./Canada border, to the Yaak River (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:124b-125b, pocket map). By 1889, however, Dawson had recorded additional information which changed his opinion about the location of the Lower



Map 6: West Arm Area

Kutenai people's western boundary. In his 1888-1889 report, Dawson reported that:

> St. Agnes Falls [Bonnington Falls] limit the ascent of the salmon on the Kootanie. The falls were formerly a noted salmon-fishing place for the Salish Indians and the limit of these people to the east, the country beyond belonging to the Kootanie tribes (Dawson 1890:19b).

Dawson's diary kept at the time of his visit to Kootenay Lake recorded the following note on June 26th, 1889:

> Kootanie Indians. Informed that all this lake is Kootanie territory & that the Kootanie country extended down the river to the [Bonnington] falls, the Colville Indians (Salish) coming up as far as the lower fall to fish (Dawson 1889).

Dawson subsequently recorded in an 1892 article that the Lakes claimed the lower part of the Kootenay River up to the "first fall," which both logic and Dawson's map (1892:45) would indicate was Bonnington Falls. He stated that:

> the *S-na-achikst* [*sngaytskstx*], a sept or tribe of the Salish proper, claim the fishing and hunting grounds along the western leg of the Columbia River, including the Arrow Lakes and the lower part of the Kootanie River from its mouth to the first fall, which was a noted fishing place (Dawson 1892:6,45). [4]

Subsequent ethnographic sources also identified the Lower Kutenai, and also used the same Native term to distinguish them. For example, Franz Boas (1890:806), on the basis of Kutenai research undertaken between 1886 and 1888, associated the Lower Kutenai with Kootenay Lake and identified them as the "*Aquqtlā́tlqō*" which is a variant of the same term that Dawson (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:124b-125b) transcribed as "*Akoklako*" in 1883. Boas (1890:807) noted that the Lower Kutenai were "principally fishermen" and the Upper Kutenai were "originally hunters." [5]

Alexander F. Chamberlain, in his 1891 research among the Kutenai, identified the Lower Kutenai by this same term, "*Aqkōqtlā́tlqō*" [6] and described them as as "Indians of the Lower Kootenay (*Aqkōqtlā́hātl*) River, partly in British Columbia and partly in Idaho" (Chamberlain 1893:550).[7] Edward Curtis's 1907-1909 Kutenai research identified the Lower Kutenai as "*Akukhláhahl*." According to Curtis, these people "controlled the territory between Kootenai river at Bonner's Ferry Idaho, and the northern end of Pend'd'Oreille lake, the name referring to the swampy character of the borders of the lake" (Curtis 1911:118).[8] Most recently, Brunton (1998:226) has provided the term "*ʔa·k̓aq̓ ɬahaɬxu*" for the Lower Kutenai.

James Teit made reference to the Lower Kutenai and their western boundary in his work from the early 1900s, although most of Teit's data on this region were elicited from Okanagan-Colville consultants, especially Lakes people. Teit did, however, record from Native Kutenai consultants a limited amount of Lower Kutenai ethnographic information, not all of which appeared in his published material. According to Teit (1910-1913), "the Lower Kutenai had their headquarters around Creston and Bonner's Ferry." Elsewhere in his fieldnotes Teit wrote that the Lower Kutenai "went down west branch of Kootenay Lake to about eight miles or so from Nelson." This latter boundary was the same one identified by Teit in his posthumously-published

monograph, where he wrote that "the Lake division [of the Okanagan-Colville] claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the [West Arm of Kootenay] lake some seven or eight miles east of Nelson" (Teit 1930b:210-211) (but see also the discussion that follows).

There are, in Teit's unpublished fieldnotes, several other accounts which make reference to the Kutenai/Lakes boundary west of Kootenay Lake. One entry put this boundary in the vicinity of Bonnington Falls, noting that the Lakes "occupied the Kootenai River at least as far up as the Falls [Bonnington Falls], and appear to have come in contact with the Flatbows [Lower Kutenai] of Kootenai Lake about this place" (Teit 1907-1910). Elsewhere in his notes, Teit (n.d.) recorded that the Lakes people's eastern boundary was "Kootenay River up to Lake around Nelson or a little above, although not much used at least latterly...". Another entry was more explicit about the distance east from Nelson that Lakes territory extended, indicating that while the Lakes had no permanent camps above Bonnington Falls, "they claimed the country for hunting and fishing purposes to about 6 miles E. of Nelson on Kootenai Lake" (Teit 1908-1920).[9]

The problem of a limited amount of data on the Lower Kutenai in these early ethnographies would continue in the 20th century works. Two major Kutenai ethnographic studies were undertaken in the 1930s, by Claude E. Schaeffer (1940) and H.H. Turney-High (1941). However, both these ethnographies concentrated primarily on the Upper Kutenai, and *much* less data was provided about the Lower Kutenai. Some ethnographic studies were undertaken with the Kutenai in the 1950s, but these studies concentrated on the Kutenai living in the United States and provided almost no data on the Creston people.

The majority of Claude Schaeffer's Kutenai fieldwork was conducted in the mid-1930s. Most of his data were gathered at Tobacco Plains and are heavily weighted towards the Upper Kutenai. Compared to earlier studies, Schaeffer's Upper Kutenai data are extremely detailed; his information on Lower Kutenai bands is much less complete. Notwithstanding, Schaeffer's 1935 fieldnotes identify six Lower Kutenai subgroups or "bands." The Lower Kutenai, as a whole, are referred to by Schaeffer (1935, in Chalfant 1974b:51) as "*agukłaho*" which is consistent with the term given by other sources, as discussed above. Three of the Lower Kutenai subgroups or "bands" identified by Schaeffer were: the "*yakokwa'nik*"; the "*katsaa'łnik*"; and the "*agakawu'kinik*". No information was provided concerning the location of these three subgroups (Schaeffer 1935, in Chalfant 1974b:45).[10] A fourth Lower Kutenai subgroup, the "*aka-ts*" ('bunch of ropes'), was identified by Schaeffer as the Bonner's Ferry band who wintered on a small lake about a mile below Bonner's Ferry, Idaho which is just over 60 Km (40 miles) south from Creston. Another subgroup, the "*agukuatsukinik*" were identified as a Lower Kutenai band living between Libby and Troy, Montana, approximately 55 Km (35 miles) southeast from Bonner's Ferry. Finally, a Lower Kutenai band said to be "now extinct," the "*gatisa,*" were identified as having lived "west of Nelson, B.C., near Castlebar [Castlegar], B.C." (Schaeffer 1935, in Chalfant 1974b:51 — see also Section 3.2 of the present report).

H.H. Turney-High, who produced a monograph on the Kutenai in 1941 based on fieldwork undertaken in 1939 and 1940, distinguished between the Lower Kutenai "band" (subgroup) at Creston and the Lower Kutenai band at Bonner's Ferry. Turney-High said that many of his Lower Kutenai consultants (together with the Upper Kutenai) indicated that the

Bonner's Ferry people were the "first great offshoot" from the main Kutenai village at Tobacco Plains, which was described as the "real Kutenai mother band." The Lower Kutenai band at Creston was described by Turney-High as "a reasonably old offshoot of the Bonner's Ferry people" (Turney-High 1941:19-20).

Although Turney-High did not provide Native terms for either the Lower Kutenai as a whole, or the component Lower Kutenai "bands," he did describe the distinctions between the Lower and Upper Kutenai:

> The Kutenai were and, to a large degree, are composed of several bands politically independent of each other... These bands are ... divided into the Upper and Lower Kutenai, which is the chief cultural and linguistic division. The term Upper Kutenai should be used for the eastern Kutenai, those bands living near the western face of the Rocky Mountains; in other words, the bands living in the upper reaches of the Kootenay River which meant so much to them. These people were more under the influence of the bison hunt and other Plains traits. The Lower Kutenai lived on the lower reaches of the river and subsisted more on fish, the bison playing a minor role in their economy. The dividing line between them would be a broad and somewhat vague and wavy belt passing north and south through about Libby, Montana . . . working with the more objectively minded elders of both the Upper and Lower Kutenai, one is compelled to give respect to the theory that the Upper Kutenai are the original Kutenai, and that the lower bands migrated down the river [Kootenay River] after the eastern bands were quite well settled... (Turney-High 1941:14-15).

Turney-High's (1941:22) map placed the western boundary of the Kutenai along the west side of the Columbia River and Arrow Lakes, extending from Revelstoke in the north then south to the vicinity of the Laurier border station (about 50 Km or 31 miles west from the Columbia River at Waneta), then, in Washington State, crossing the Columbia River south from Kettle Falls. However, Turney-High stated he had "serious doubt about the claims for so much territory to the southwest." He added that "since informants were insistent, the map was drawn according to their directions" (Turney-High 1941:24). Apparently the matter of the western and southwestern territorial claims made by the Kutenai was of sufficient concern to Turney-High that he questioned his Native consultants twice about it:

> In 1940 every competent and available informant at Bonner's Ferry, Creston, Tobacco Plains, and Flathead Lake was re-questioned regarding the westward extent of the Kutenai range. With but one exception they all claimed Arrow Lake and its shores, although admitting that there were no Kutenai villages there. They said that the lake was one of their important sources of fish, that their fathers regularly visited it by canoe, and that they expected to find no enemy or rival there or on the way there. Chief David of Bonner's Ferry alone admitted that the Kutenai could not proceed westward of Kootenay Lake without fighting. While the majority opinion is the one represented on the

> map in this work, it must be considered a moot point, perhaps unsolvable at this date (Turney-High 1941:24-25).[11]

Olga Johnson's 1969 publication on the Flathead and Kutenai relied extensively on Turney-High's work (Johnson 1969:11). While she did do some original ethnographic work, Johnson based her study primarily on the existing literature. It must be assumed that her Kutenai territorial conclusions are based mostly, if not entirely, on Turney-High (see also Section 3.1 of the present study).

Descriptions of the extent of Lower Kutenai territory have also been published in more recent years. The late Professor Allan H. Smith in 1984 prepared a comprehensive study of Kutenai subsistence and settlement patterns. Smith's report focused on the Upper Kutenai, with specific reference to the area around what is now Lake Koocanusa in Montana and British Columbia. Part of Allan Smith's (1984:1-54) study consisted of a detailed and careful review of the main published sources of data relating to Kutenai territory and the identification of the Kutenai subgroups.[12] After reviewing and assessing numerous depictions of Kutenai territory, Smith (1984:23-28) presents and discusses his own map of this territory, synthesized from these sources.

Smith's (1984:24) map depicts the western boundary of the Lower Kutenai as a line running north to south through the lower Lardeau River, through the West Arm of Kootenay Lake at a point roughly halfway between Nelson and Procter,[13] and crossing the U.S. border at the Washington/Idaho boundary which is about 18 Km (11 miles) east from the Nelway border crossing. The comments that Smith makes about this western border include the following:

> ...Provisionally, then, I bring the Kutenai boundary down the watershed along the west side of Kootenay Lake, which was unarguably traditional Kutenai hunting and fishing country... (A.Smith 1984:25).[14]

The western boundary of the Lower Kutenai south from the West Arm is, in Smith's (1984:26) opinion, "quite clear." He notes that this boundary:

> followed the watershed dividing Kootenay Lake and Kootenai River above the lake on the northeast and north from the Pend Oreille-Clark Fork drainage on the southwest and south. This is to say, it ran above the headwaters of Salmo River, Priest River, and Pack River . . . (A.Smith 1984:26-27).

Allan Smith (1984:24, 29-30) places the boundary between the Lower and Upper Kutenai at Kootenai Falls (about 13 Km or 8 miles east of Troy, Montana), based on statements in Turney-High (1941:14-15) and on Smith's own consideration of the topography.[15]

An overview of Kutenai ethnography and ethnohistory was prepared recently by Professor Bill Brunton (1998:223-237) for the *Plateau Volume, Handbook of North American Indians.* Referring to the map accompanying the article which depicts Kutenai territory "at contact in 1792," Brunton (1998:223,225) states that the Lower Kutenai "occupied the Kootenay River valley and surrounding country downriver from these communities to Kootenay Lake." The map accompanying Brunton's article places the western boundary of the Lower Kutenai just west of Nelson.

Ethnohistoric references beginning in the early 1800s also recorded information about the Lower Kutenai and their territory. In 1808, David Thompson, geographer and explorer for the Northwest Company, encountered Lower Kutenai people, whom he identified as "Lake" Indians, at and near the lower end of Kootenay Lake (Glover 1962:280). These Natives were *not* the "Lakes" (*sngaytkstx*) Interior Salish Indians however — they were the Lower Kutenai. Thompson referred to the Lower Kutenai as the "Lake" or "Flat Bow" Indians, and the Upper Kutenai as the "Kootanaes." During these early years of fur trading and exploration, Kootenay Lake was referred to as "Flat Bow Lake" or "McGillivray's Lake," and the Kootenay River in its entirety (both draining into and out of Kootenay Lake) was referred to as "McGillivray's River" (Coues 1897:2; Glover 1962; Belyea 1994). Thompson reported that after travelling 24 days from Kootanae House post (at the headwaters of the Columbia), and "after much loitering along the River [Kootenay River] looking for Indians," Native people were found in mid-May 1808 "near and at the Lake"[Kootenay Lake] (Glover 1962:280).[16] The name for Kootenay Lake was recorded at this time by Thompson as "*Akorkanookoo*" (Belyea 1994:312).[17]

Alexander Henry, fur trader for the Northwest Company, in 1811 also identified the Lower Kutenai as the "Lake" or "Flat Bow" Indians, and also associated their territory with Kootenay Lake:

> The Flat Bow, or, as some call them, Lake Indians, dwell on the borders of the large [Kootenay] lake, into which McGillivray's [the Kootenay] river empties in its course to the Columbia. They frequently come up the former river as far as the falls [in Idaho], but seldom attempt to proceed higher. These people are but little known to us. The country they inhabit does not appear to abound in animals of the larger kinds; neither are beavers very plenty, nor other skins of value. Salmon and other fish seem to be their principal food. These people have no horses, as their lands will not admit of using these animals, the country being covered with wood, and the mountains steep, and intersected by lakes and rivers. They generally use canoes of pine bark, which are very weak, slender vessels (Coues 1897:2:709-710).

The information in square brackets in this citation was added by Elliott Coues, the editor. However it is our opinion that the "falls" in question are not, as Coues suggests, "in Idaho"; rather, this is a reference to Kootenai Falls, located between Troy and Libby, Montana.

An explicit statement of the Lower and Upper Kutenai as components of a larger group — the "Kootenais Nation" — was made by J.W. Dease at Fort Colvile. In an April 1827 report, Dease stated:

> The Kootenais Nation are divided in two tribes called Kootonais & Flat Bows. Their hunting grounds are McGillivrays [Kootenay] River to the Piegan Lands (Dease 1827).[18]

Another HBC employee from Fort Colvile, John Work, who was especially familiar with the upper Columbia River area, also referred to the Kutenai being composed of two separate groups in an 1830 report. Work described their territory as follows:

> The Kootanies [are] of two tribes The Silaquilaque, by the Whites called the

> Flat Bows and the Callesauilk.[19] Their country lies on the Kootany River from near its discharge to its sources, and on the head of the Columbia river. To the Westward this country is mountainous but to the Eastward there are fine plains with little wood. Here chiveuau & elk abound, there are also Moose, Mountain Sheep & goats, and by passing the height of land to the Eastward they find plenty of buffalo. The falls [Bonnington Falls] near the entrance of the river stop the salmon from ascending, but they have sturgeon and some other kind of fish. Most parts of this country are still considered rich in beaver (Work 1830).

Work thus believed that Kutenai territory extended almost to the mouth of the Kootenay River ("from near its discharge"). Exactly how close to the Kootenay mouth Work believed their territory extended, and whether or not he believed "the falls" [Bonnington Falls], which stopped the salmon from ascending, to be within Kutenai territory, are not clear.[20] In this same report, Work (1830) identified the Chief of the Lower Kutenai ("*Silaquilaque*") as "*Calsanetanie,*" and the Chief of the Upper Kutenai ("*Callesauilk*") as "*Inishinawiscan.*"

The Jesuit missionary Father P.J. De Smet in August 1845 visited the Lower Kutenai at what was likely the vicinity of Creston. De Smet described the Lower Kutenai as "Arcs-à-plats" (the French equivalent of 'flat-bows') or "Flatbows," and wrote that the "little tribe of Arcs-à-plats" numbered about 90 families. He noted on September 2nd, 1845 that "The Flatbows and Kootenais now form one tribe, divided into two branches" (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:484-491).

Captain Charles Wilson, a member of the British Boundary Survey Commission which passed through Kutenai territory in 1861, subsequently prepared a paper describing the Indian tribes in the vicinicity of the 49th parallel. In this paper, which was published in 1866, Wilson described the "Kootenay Race" as inhabiting the land "watered by the Kootenay, Flatbow, or, as it is sometimes called, McGillwray's River" (Wilson 1866:304). He also said that the Kutenai were "divided into two tribes." The name he recorded for the Lower Kutenai was "*Akuchăklacktas*" (Wilson 1866:304) which appears to be a variant of the term that others, as discussed above, have transcribed as "*ʔa·ḳaq̓ɬaha ɬxu*" or "*Akoklako*" or "*Akukhláhahl.*" Wilson (1866:304-306) reported that the Lower Kutenai population was about 200, that they were "scattered over the country from the southernmost point of the great bend of the Kootenay, near Chelempta,[21] northwards to the Kootenay Lakes," and that they wintered their horses "near the Kootenay Lake." Wilson noted as well that:

> The Lower Kootenays live on deer, fish and berries, seldom visiting the plains for buffalo, and to this may be ascribed the fact that, though living so close to the Kalispelms, no one could be found amongst them who spoke the Selish language, whilst among the Upper Kootenays, who are in the habit of hunting in company with the Selish, most of the men were able to talk it (Wilson 1866:305).[22]

Edgar Dewdney on June 2nd, 1865 reported to the Colonial Secretary that an old Indian man told him that "both Columbia River[23] & Koutenais" Natives were then camped at the south end of

Kootenay Lake and also "two days travel up the stream[24] that runs in at the Northern end of Lake" (Dewdney 1865b). When Dewdney (1865c), himself, reached the area around what is now Creston on June 8th, 1865, he reported only that there were "a large number of Kootenais Indians camped here," and made no mention of any other aboriginal group.

Additional reference to the Kutenai and their territory was made in 1872-1873 by British Columbia Superintendent of Indian Affairs I.W. Powell (1872; 1873) who compiled a report and map of the province's Indian Tribes, using information then available to him. Powell's map, identified as a "Geographical Division of the Indians of the Province, According to Their Nationality or Dialect," placed the western boundary of the "Kootenay Nation" along the eastern bank of the Columbia River for the entire distance from Fort Shepherd in the south to Boat Encampment in the north, including the eastern side of both Arrow Lakes. The southern boundary extended along the U.S. border from Fort Shepherd to the B.C./Alberta border. The entire region west from the eastern side of the Columbia River and Arrow Lakes was identified on this map (Powell 1872) as the "Shuswap Nation" comprising a very large area that we now know as B.C. Interior Salish (that is, Okanagan, Shuswap, Thompson, and Lilloet). Powell's (1873) report described the "Kootenay Nation" as being located "on the Kootenay, Pend d'Oreille & Columbia Rivers in the Kootenay District."

The Kutenai and their territory were also described by Arthur Farwell in 1883. At that time he was collecting data for the Province of British Columbia concerning aboriginal people's requirements in the Kootenay District. Farwell stated that "the most reliable sources"[25] indicated the Kutenai numbered about 800, with 450 living north of the boundary, 200 living in Montana and Idaho, and the remainder migrating back and forth (Farwell 1884). In his report, Farwell distinguished between Canadian Upper and Lower Kutenai, and described their territory as follows:

> Of the 450 British Indians, 150 claim the Lower Kootenay as their country, from the boundary line, down Kootenay River, and through Kootenay Lake and its tributaries. The remaining 300 Indians consider the land along the Upper Kootenay River, from the boundary line at Tobacco Plains northward, to the Lower Columbia Lake, as theirs (Farwell 1884).

Given its context, Farwell's reference to the "Lower Columbia Lake" was not to Lower Arrow Lake, but to Columbia Lake at the head of the Columbia. He makes this clear in his report.[26]

W.A. Baillie-Grohman was an English sportsman, adventurer, and entrepreneur who, beginning around 1880 and continuing for many years, became very familiar with Kutenai territory and Kutenai people. Baillie-Grohman described the Lower Kutenai people's use of the land around Kootenay Lake as follows:

> As the mountains around Kootenay Lake rise very precipitously from the water's edge, there is on the banks [around the lake] hardly a square rood of ground available for Indian settlements, hence their [Lower Kutenai] villages, consisting of *teepees*, covered with mats made of reeds, called *kloosquees*, [27] are all confined to the grass-covered flats in the valley between the lake and the [international] boundary. The lake and the mountains were only visited for hunting and fishing. If for the

> former, they betook themselves in their light pine bark canoes to the upper end of the lake, and, landing at one of the many sandy beaches hemmed in on all sides by red cedars and pines of great growth, *câched* their canoes, and proceeded to climb the mountains on foot. Often away for a month at a time, they scrambled about the singularly rugged cliffs and peaks that rise from the lake (which is only 1750 feet over the Pacific) to a height of 9000 ft (Baillie-Grohman 1907:307-308).

Years later, information about hunting and trapping practices of the Lower Kutenai people was provided in the context of Indian Agent Galbraith's October 30th, 1914 response to a question from a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs. Referring to the Creston Kootenay people, one of the Commissioners asked, "How do these Indians make their living?", and Galbraith replied:

> They make their living principally by hunting and trapping in the winter. They have all this Kootenay North, and over towards the Columbia River — they have that country, where they can hunt; and these bottom lands, there was until very recently, a large amount of muskrats, and a good many mink — in fact, they used to catch them by the hundreds. Their whole Reserve [Creston I.R. No. 1] was nothing but a muskrat swamp, and they got a very good price for the furs. But this source of revenue has decreased very much indeed. Then, they had all around the Kootenay Lake country, where they could hunt and trap marten and beaver in the open season, but now, of recent years, they are met by experienced white hunters. The white trapper can beat them all to pieces for hunting, and they are now finding it very difficult to make a living from this source. There are also a great deal of waterfowl, such as ducks and geese, and they kill those for their food . . . (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:132-133).

PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE KOOTENAY RIVER/ KOOTENAY LAKE REGION

The following discussion begins in the Creston area, proceeds up Kootenay Lake to the West Arm, then follows down the West Arm and Kootenay River to Tarrys (near Brilliant). From here the discussion returns to Kootenay Lake and proceeds to this Lake's northern end, where the discussion terminates (see Maps 5 and 6).

Creston Area

The principal settlements of the Lower Kutenai were in the vicinity of Creston, and remain there today (see also Section 6.1). Recently the "Lower Kootenay band near Creston" has been identified as "*yaqan nukiy,*" translated as 'the people where the rock is standing' (Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council 1999).[28] This same Kutenai term, "*yaqan nukiy,*" also associated with the Lower Kootenay Band, is provided in three other recent sources: the term appears as "*yaqahan nu?kiy*" on a map entitled "Land of the Kutenai" that was likely compiled by the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council (Anon. c.

1995); as "*yaqan nu?kiy*" in a popular guide by travel writer Cheryl Coull (1996:100,104); and as "*ya· qan nukiy*" in an ethnobotanry handbook (Keefer and McCoy 1999:56).[29]

Creston, itself, is identified by Coull (1996:100,104) as "*?akaqtahat*" ('refers to the sloughs or marshlands'), with reference to the area at the confluence of the Goat and Kootenay Rivers (see Figure 22). Coull (1996:104) notes that the Creston-area people used their sturgeon-nosed canoes for hunting and "harvesting wild rice [30] that grew as tall as they are." Concerning these Creston-area Natives, Coull states:

> In the late 1800s, the Ktunaxa who lived here strongly opposed the draining of their slough and the destruction of their cemetery for orchards and alfalfa fields. They left their village, but their history remains: at higher elevations are rock paintings, obsidian quarries, and tools, often turned up during road or house construction. These indicated that water levels were much higher at one time. The people remained in the area: they are the "*yaqan nu?kiy*" [Lower Kootenay Band] of today... (Coull 1996:104).

The term that appears in Coull's (1996:104) travel guide as "*?akaqtahat*" [31] and is used to identify Creston, is the same name (or a variant of this name) that has been recorded by several other sources, as follows: "*akoklako*" (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:124b-125b, pocket map); "*aquqtlā'tlqō*" (Boas 1890:806); "*aqkōqtlā'hātl*" (Chamberlain 1893:550); "*aqkōqtlā'tlqō*" (Chamberlain n.d.f); "*a_a'kuk.ɬa'x̣aɬ*" (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:322); "*ʔa·k̓aq̓ɬahaɬxu*" (Brunton 1998:226). However, as is discussed in Section 6.0 of the present report, all of these other sources associate this term with the Lower Kutenai in general, and not specifically with the Creston area.

A traditional story concerning the origin of the Creston people is recorded in Olga Johnson's (1969:141) published study on the Flathead and Kutenai. This Lower Kutenai legend, recorded in the early 1960s, discussed how the Bonner's Ferry people, who were living at Innias Creek (midway between Creston and Bonner's Ferry), were annihilated by an epidemic that was described as "a big belly ache." Eventually all died except one grown woman and her daughter. These two women, "Singing Through" and "Travelling On," canoed down to Kootenay Lake where they met an Upper Kutenai man from Windermere who had survived the same sickness. The children he fathered through both women became the future Lower Kutenai people (Johnson 1969:141).[32]

Johnson (1969:141 fn.) noted that a similar legend was recorded elsewhere briefly, but without the "tribal band specification." [33] The story, entitled "The Great Epidemic" and recorded by Chamberlain in 1891, noted that a very long time ago there was an epidemic among "all the Kutenai." Only one man was left alive. This man started off in his canoe to see if anyone else was left alive and finally "came to the last camp of the Kutenai . . . the farthest village." Here he came across the only other survivors besides himself — a woman and her daughter. The man married the mother, and later the daughter, and "the Kutenai increased from these" (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:268-271). Although the Creston area was not specified in this story, the fact that the man in his canoe was said to have arrived at "the last camp of the Kutenai . . . the farthest village" suggests he went down the Kootenay River until he reached the vicinity of Creston.

While traditions exist which describe the origins of the Creston people, the Native name of

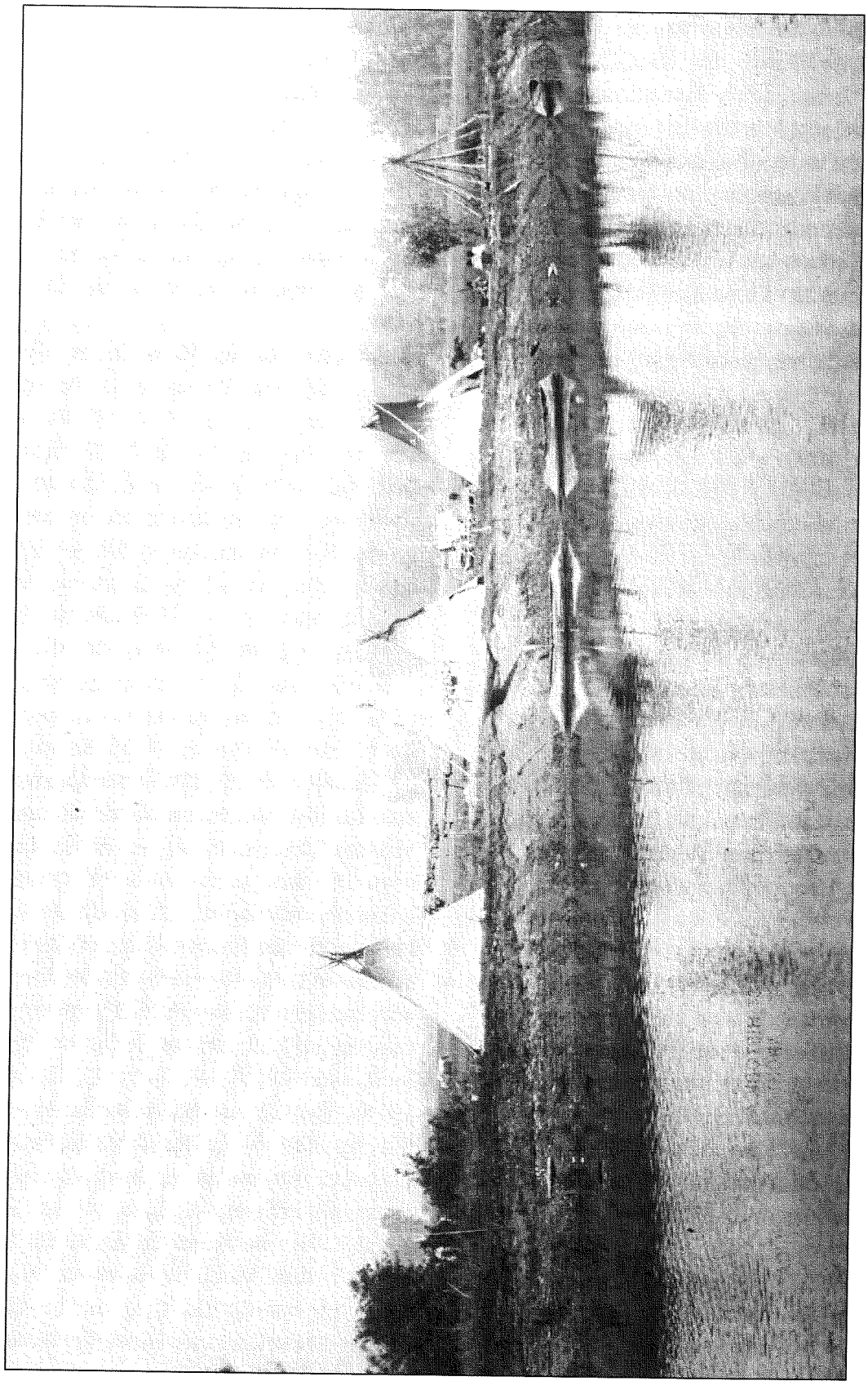


Figure 22. Lower Kutenai Indian camp, Creston, B.C., by Goat River. Creston and District Historical and Museum Society Archives. P91-18-4.

the principal village where the Lower Kutenai lived near the present site of Creston does not seem to have been recorded in early ethnohistoric documents.[34] However some information has been recorded in the available literature concerning traditional use and occupancy of the Creston area by Lower Kutenai people.

In August 1884, when Indian Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly allotted a 1600 acre Indian Reserve south from present-day Creston for the Lower Kutenai, he wrote:

> On completing my work in the Upper Kootenay valley, I proceeded to visit that of the Lower Kootenay, and the Indians resident there. I arrived on the 26th August, and after examination, found that owing to the periodical overflow of the river, which extends to the very base of the mountains, it was impossible to procure land suitable for agricultural, or even garden purposes in that valley . . . the Indians asked that land be given them on the right bank of the Kootenay river, about 2 1/2 miles north of the International boundary line. I acceded to their request, and made reservation No. 4 [Lower Kootenay No. 1] . . . This branch of the Kootenay tribe . . . [in former times] crossed the Rocky mountains to hunt, but the buffalo being exterminated, they now depend principally on fish, and berries, for their subsistence . . . They number 52 men, 35 women, and 73 children, a total of 160, of whom "St. Pierre" is the subchief, and they are possessed of 40 horses, and 5 cattle (O'Reilly 1884:42-48).

It is evident that O'Reilly identified only the land that he believed the Creston Lower Kutenai people wished as a Reserve.[35] Despite O'Reilly's conclusion in 1884 that the Kutenai "appeared satisfied with the allotments made for them" (O'Reilly 1884), clearly they were not. It appears they began protesting O'Reilly's allotment soon after it was made. Kootenay Indian Agent R.L.T. Galbraith told members of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in 1914 that:

> In 1908 Mr Vowell [the Indian Reserve Commissioner], Mr. Testzel [the Provincial Government Agent at Nelson] and myself held a meeting with the Indians, the result of which meeting was the execution of a Provisional Agreement by Mr. Vowell and Chief Alexander [see Figure 24] for the setting aside of certain lands in the Creston District as additional Reserves for [the] Lower Kootenay Band. It was admitted by everyone that a mistake had been made in the original allotment of the St. Mary's Reserve [Creston Reserve],[36] Mr. O Reilly's investigations apparently not being sufficiently thorough. Mr. Vowell saw this and tried to correct the mistake made when he became Superintendent, and I also recognized it, and I have tried all I possibly know how to secure the correction ever since I became Agent. The Indians have been pressing their claims for justice in this matter during a period of 25 years; and it was upon hearing all the pros and cons in this matter that Mr. Vowell entered into the agreement, subject of course to the approval of both interested Governments later being secured (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:127).

Through what Galbraith referred to as this "Provisional Agreement," Vowell allotted two additional Reserves for the Lower Kutenai in the Creston area — Indian Reserve No. 1a, of approximately 2735 acres, abutting the Kootenay River south of I.R. No. 1, and I.R. No. 1b, of 1215 acres, abutting the River north of I.R. No. 1 (Vowell 1908). The Provincial Government refused to approve the allotments however, having determined on a policy earlier in 1908 not to make further Indian Reserve allotments until the disputes between the province and the federal government over Indian Reserve policy (notably the province's asserted reversionary interest) were settled (Kennedy 1995:129-130).[37] Galbraith urged the Royal Commission to uphold this agreement and confirm Vowell's allotments (Galbraith 1914:127), which the Commission did (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1916:II:367).

In addition to confirming Lower Kootenay Indian Reserves 1, 1a, and 1b, the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs established five additional Reserves for the Lower Kutenai people. This was in response to the fact that, at the time when the Commissioners visited this area in 1914, many of the Lower Kutenai were not living on Reserve No. 1. Second Chief John Alexander commented at Creston on September 11th, 1914, with reference to additional Reserve lands required, that Lower Kutenai people were then living from the vicinity of I.R. No. 1 all the way down the Kootenay River to Duck Creek [about 10 Km (6 miles) to the north]. Chief Alexander stated "There are more Indians on the outside of the reserve [I.R. No. 1] than there are on the inside of the reserve" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:1-2).

The five additional Reserves that were set aside at this time for the Lower Kutenai were: No. 1c, 1200 acres, abutting the east side of the Kootenay River, west from present-day Creston; No. 2, 200 acres, also abutting the east side of the Kootenay River, about 1600 metres (one mile) north from No. 1c; No. 3, 130 acres, also abutting the east side of the Kootenay River, just upriver from No. 2; No. 4, 195 acres, abutting the west side of the Kootenay River adjacent to the upper end of I.R. 3; and No. 5, 355 acres, abutting the east side of the Kootenay River, not far from Duck Creek (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:1-9, 127-138; 1916:II: 366, 369).[38]

Local historian A.I. Ross has provided information about the Lower Kutenai people's use of areas around Creston. Writing with reference to the early 1900s, Ross stated that the Lower Kutenai people's "favourite ground for Beaver, Goat [mountain goat], and Caribou" was the Goat River and Arrow Creek area west from Creston. Mr. Ross also referred to the Lower Kutenai catching ducks in the shallow sloughs near Creston, noting that "there were literally millions of ducks here, even in the 1920's." He added that "some of my family have related stories of the Kutenais selling ducks to the river boats in the 1890's" (Ross c. 1980:4-5). Mr. Ross identified the following sites of fish weirs and traps: " 'Farmers fill' West Creston - 'Round Meadow', Corn Creek and Frenches slough" (Ross c. 1980:6). As well, Ross wrote that in the vicinity of "Tommy Swanson's place on Kootenay River between Mission and Rykerts" [39] the Lower Kutenai people planted "apple trees, lilac shrub, rhubard plants and vegetables." At "Nicks Garden" in West Creston, the Natives had apple trees and vegetables (Ross c. 1980:8).

Mouth of Summit Creek (Vicinity of Lower Kootenay I.R. No. 4)

The available documentation suggests that the area of the Kootenay River in the vicinity of Summit Creek, near what became Indian Reserve

No. 4, was a fishery for the Lower Kutenai people, and that there was a fishing camp here.

In the fall of 1864, Arthur Birch encountered a camp of Kutenai people fishing here. Birch had been travelling east along the newly-constructed trail up the Salmo Valley en route to Wild Horse Creek, and "struck the Kootenay River about 4 miles from the upper end of the great Kootenay or Flatbow Lake" [this would be around the Summit Creek/Kootenay River confluence]. Birch identified the aboriginal people he met here as "Kootenay Indians," and recorded that:

> a large number were encamped in the valley at their fishing grounds; they were very friendly, and rendered us every assistance in helping us swim our horses and cross our baggage over the Kootenay River; this we accomplished with safety, nearly parallel with the Boundary Line, having travelled some 20 miles up the valley after leaving the newly made trail (Birch, in MacFie 1865:257-258).

In May of 1865, Edgar Dewdney also recorded a camp at this site, after emerging from the Pend d'Oreille/Salmo River valleys along Summit Creek into what he called the "Kootenais bottom" area (Gosnell 1908:11). Dewdney indicated that the Summit Creek site was a temporary campsite, used for fishing, and that there were many suckerfish visible in the river here.[40] In June 1865, Dewdney found the Indians camped further downstream, at Kootenay Lake, and commented that "The Indians had been driven away from where we left them by the mosquitoes, and they moved to the end of the lake where there was a breeze and no mosquitoes" (Gosnell 1908:13).

Duck Creek Area

Duck Creek, which lies southeast from Kootenay Lake, empties into the southernmost end of Duck Lake. A considerable amount of information has been recorded concerning Lower Kutenai use and occupancy of the Duck Creek area.

According to local non-Native sources, an area just south of the present settlement of Wynndel, in the vicinity of District Lot 9552, was the location of the small point of land known locally as "Indian Point." One local source described Indian Point as the place "where the Indians used to camp in high water times before the dykes were built to keep the flat lands from flooding." [41] Another source stated that the Creston Kutenai people set up camp here at Indian Point each summer, and noted also that some Kutenai families lived "on a small camp on the Wynndel flats beside the Kootenay River, opposite Wynndel." [42] People who settled near Indian Point recalled the Native "pow-wows" where the "stick game" ("bone game")[43] was played during summer evenings (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:4-5, 329-330, 391, 403-404, 411, 452, 484, 520).

Concerning the Indian Point area, it is stated in a manuscript history of Wynndel (likely based on an interview with pioneer Paul Hagen) that:

> The Indians all camped there below O.J. Wigens place. There'd be as many as 20 teepees. When we were at the farm just above we were right on the Dewdney Trail here in 1911, and built the house and the Indians came up every spring and brought about 150 cattle right through our gardens and everything and took them to Arrow Creek [northeast from Creston] from across the river for the

summer... ([Hagen and Johnson]: n.d.).

Similar information was provided by Wally Johnson, another local settler from Wynndel, who recalled that around 1910 the Native people camped at Indian Point used a trail through Lakeview [in the hills, about 3 Km (2 miles) southeast from Indian Point][44] to take their cattle to summer pasture at Okell Creek in the Arrow Creek area which is located northeast from Creston. Mr. Johnson remembered seeing "Mrs. Duck Creek Dave," an elderly Native woman, using this trail early in summer mornings to go picking huckleberries at Lakeview and at Arrow Creek, carrying a rifle which she would use to bag any grouse she encountered on the way (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:391).

Recollections have been recorded of Anne George, an elderly Lower Kutenai woman who in the late 1930s was among the Natives who came each summer to Indian Point (which was said to have been located "just above high-water line on the Wynndel flats"). These Lower Kutenai people would set up their teepees and their drying racks on which they dried both the fish they caught and the berries they picked (see Figure 23). Anne George indicated that she stalked deer at "the creek," which this non-Native person believed was Duck Creek. Mrs. George made the buckskin into custom moccasins and sold them to non-Natives in the area (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:329-330). Another non-Native person remembered ten teepees pitched on Indian Point in the late 1940s (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:411).

Chief John Alexander of Creston referred in September 1914 to a permanent settlement of Lower Kutenai people "on the southern border of a lake just south of Duck Lake on Section 5 in Township 11." When asked how long these people had lived there, Chief Alexander replied "That is where their fathers and grandparents used to live and they are living there now" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:8).[45] Indian Agent Galbraith stated in October 1914 that he was very familiar with this place. He said that it was on Duck Creek, that five families lived there, all having houses, and that their cattle had run there for years. Galbraith recommended that at least 160 acres be set aside here [in Section 5 of Township 11] as an Indian Reserve for these people (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:135-136).[46]

It appears that the place referred to above by Chief Alexander and Agent Galbraith is different than the "Indian Point" site, although we are not certain of this. Moreover, there are several other Lower Kutenai sites in this area whose locations we have not been able to clarify. For example, there was a Lower Kutenai camping place said to have been located "down on the flats near the channel" where it was recalled that in the 1920s there were numerous Indian "teepees" (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:384). As well, there was an "Indian camp situated [circa 1916] one mile west from the sloughs on high land near the Kootenay River" (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:392). Finally, there was a large camping site "of Flat Bow [Lower Kutenai] Indians" adjacent to an "ingeniously constructed fish weir" that John Palliser's expedition visited in August 1859. Although Palliser recorded the latitude of the weir as being at 49° 15' (Spry 1968:477-478), it cannot be said with certainty, from reading Palliser's journal, if this weir and camp were in the vicinity of Duck Lake[47] or Leach Lake, or even further south.[48]

Lower Kootenay Band Chief Chris Luke in the mid-1980s indicated that he had been told that a number of Creston Kutenai people "used to migrate to Duck Creek or Wynndel to pick

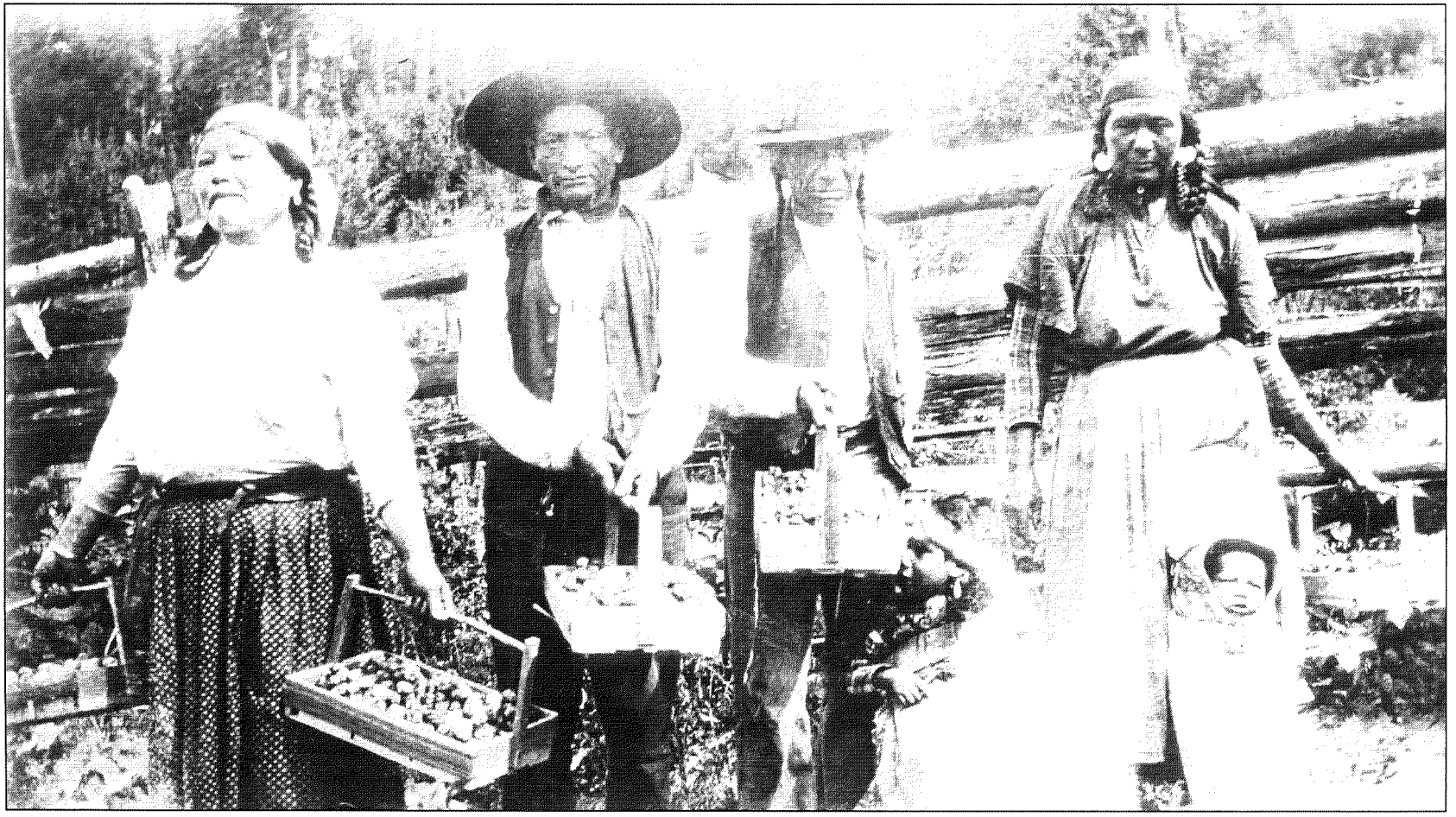


Figure 23. Lower Kutenai Indians with berries, at Wynndel, B.C. Creston and District Historical and Museum Society Archives. P91-50-110a.

strawberries and pasture their cattle" (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:3). According to one non-Native source, the Indian people used to come to Wynndel by canoe when the flats were flooded, bringing their teepees and camping while picking strawberries (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:460).[49] Another non-Native person recalled that in the late 1930s:

> Wynndel was a colourful place in those days, with the Doukhobor women picking strawberries, and the Indian camp set up on the lower flats near the post office. The Indians came by to pick the smaller berries when the patch was finished, spreading them out on blankets beside the road to dry. The pow-wows, the teepees, and singing were stirring events on those warm summer days and nights in Wynndel (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:452).

Chief John Alexander stated that in 1914, Creston Band members were living "all along right down to Duck Creek," and that "There are more Indians on the outside of the reserve [I.R. No. 1] than there are on the inside of the reserve" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:1-2). Chief Alexander also indicated that the Lower Kutenai people obtained hay for their horses and cattle along a narrow strip on both sides of the Kootenay River, all the way from Reserve No. 1 to Duck Lake (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:7).

Kootenay Lake

The name for Kootenay Lake in its entirety was recorded by David Thompson in May 1808 as "*akorkanookoo*" (Belyea 1994:312) — clearly this is the generic Kutenai term for 'lake.'[50]

A review of the available ethnohistoric and ethnographic literature indicates that permanent settlements have not been recorded anywhere on Kootenay Lake. The principal reason for this appears to have been the topography around the Lake, which lacked suitable areas for village sites.

Some general comments about the Lower Kutenai people's use of the Kootenay Lake area are provided in a 1907 publication by W.A. Baillie-Grohman, an English adventurer who became very familiar with this region beginning around 1880 and continuing until approximately 1893:

> As the mountains around Kootenay Lake rise very precipitously from the water's edge, there is on the banks [around the lake] hardly a square rood of ground available for Indian settlements, hence their [Lower Kutenai] villages, consisting of *teepees*, covered with mats made of reeds, called *kloosquees*, are all confined to the grass-covered flats in the valley between the lake and the [international] boundary. The lake and the mountains were only visited for hunting and fishing. If for the former, they betook themselves in their light pine bark canoes to the upper end of the lake, and, landing at one of the many sandy beaches hemmed in on all sides by red cedars and pines of great growth, *câched* their canoes, and proceeded to climb the mountains on foot. Often away for a month at a time, they scrambled about the singularly rugged cliffs and peaks that rise from the lake (which is only 1750 feet over the Pacific) to a height of 9000 ft. Their large game consisted of the woodland caribou, deer, bear, and the Rocky Mountain

> "goat" (*Haplocerus montanus*) the two former keeping on lower levels while the latter are only found above the timber when starting on their winter hunt ...they generally combined some trapping of the more valuable fur animals. . .The Lower Kootenays fish as much as they hunt... (Baillie-Grohman 1907:307-308).

That the places used by the Lower Kutenai people around Kootenay Lake were not permanent settlements is also suggested in an August 17th, 1905 letter from Kaslo postmaster I. William Cockle to the Geographic Board of Canada. Cockle wrote that "an old Kootenay Indian named Sebastian" had stated that "his grandfather told him the names of stopping camps on Kootenay Lake" (Akrigg and Akrigg 1997:132).

General information on the Lower Kutenai people's use of the Kootenay Lake area was provided by Indian Agent R.L.T. Galbraith in October, 1914 who noted "they had all around the Kootenay Lake country, where they could hunt and trap marten and beaver in the open season" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914:132-133).

More recently, local historian A.I. Ross compiled a study entitled *The Kootenai Peoples* which includes Creston area non-Natives's reminiscences of Lower Kutenai subsistence activities in the vicinity of Kootenay Lake and southwards. Mr. Ross concluded:

> In my opinion, our "People of the Waters" were literally that, and the rivers and lakes, sloughs and swamps and streams provided their main sustenance (Ross c. 1980).

Kuskonook

"Kuskonook," the name of a settlement and creek near the southeast end of Kootenay Lake, is said to be an anglicization of a Kutenai term meaning 'edge or end of lake' (Akrigg and Akrigg 1997:145).[51]

It appears that Cheryl Coull (1996:100,104) has recorded a different Kutenai term for this same area. She identifies "*kunama'nam*" as a place located "52 Km south of Kootenay Bay, near the Kuskonook Rest Area" (Coull 1996:104). It is not clear if this is a reference to the Kuskonook Creek area, or to the Kuskonook Provincial Park area which is located about 1.6 Km (1 mile) further south. Coull (1996:104) provides the translation for "*kunama'nam*" as 'road leading down,' which is derived, apparently,from a relatively-recent use of this area:

> The Canadian Pacific Railway line ran west from the Crowsnest Pass and, in the early 1900s, paused here at "road leading down" — a manmade spur to barges that carried rail cars across Kootenay Lake (Coull 1996:104).[52]

However, on the circa 1995 map, this same term, "*kunama'nam,*" appears in association with Creston (Anon. c. 1995), which is approximately 24 Km (15 miles) south from Kuskonook. The Creston area is also identified by this same term — transcribed this time as "*k̓unamaʔnam*" — in Keefer and McCoy's (1999:56) handbook. It has not been possible to resolve these apparent discrepancies (see also the discussion of Creston above).

Balfour/Procter area

Verne Ray (1936b:114,126) recorded "*ktca'ukuɬ*" as the Native (Okanagan-Colville) name for what he tentatively identified as a Lakes village site at Balfour, on the north side of the

entrance to the West Arm of Kootenay Lake.[53]

Ray was the only source for the place name "*ktca'ukuɬ*." He described this place as a Lakes encampment "near the present town of Balfour (?) on Kootenay Lake" and stated that it was "used as a temporary base during May and June" (Ray 1936b:126).

While Ray associated the Balfour/Procter area with the Lakes people, local historian E.L. Affleck associated this same area — and the entire West Arm of Kootenay Lake — with the Kutenai (but see also the discussion of the Nelson and Hoover Point areas that follows):

> Before the arrival of the white man, the low-lying land on the point at Balfour was a favoured summer camping spot for the Kootenay Indians.[54] Long after the white man became a fixture on the scene, the Indians continued to frequent this site, using it as a rallying point for their huckleberrying and fishing. The south side of the Outlet seems to have been favoured also, as witnessed by the Indian paintings which can still be seen on the rocks, some near the Procter lighthouse and others further outside the Outlet near the mouth of Irvine Creek . . .
>
> The shores of the West Arm of Kootenay Lake were long a favoured camping ground of the Kootenay Indians. The falling water in the Arm in August would expose many long bars of glacial sand suited for campsites. Around the mouths of certain of the mountain streams, particularly Redfish Creek [across from Harrop], the Kokanee trout would swarm before going up to spawn, and up on the mountainsides the huckleberries would ripen. Camping time for the Indians was a time of fishing, huckleberrying, and hunting for caribou in the headwaters of the mountian streams (Affleck 1978:107,125).[55]

John Palliser identified an Indian encampment in early September 1859 at the entrance to the West Arm. He wrote that his expedition arrived at "the western extremity of Flat Bow Lake [Kootenay Lake]" and commented that "here we found another camp of Indians, where my men eat so voraciously of fresh fish they they were unable to stir for the rest of the day" (Spry 1968:478). Although Palliser did not identify these Native people or specify on which side of the West Arm entrance their camp was located, his comments suggest clearly that this was a fishing camp.

Confirmation that there was a camp at Balfour, and that it was a fishing camp, is provided in a brief history of Balfour compiled by E.L. Affleck and others. These authors recorded that during the late summer in the early 1890s, "Lower Kootenai Indians" would arrive "from the Kootenay Flats [Creston area], pitch their tipis at Balfour Point," and smoke-dry fish (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:427).[56]

Other references to Native use of the West Arm entrance include a May 1910 newspaper article which noted that Indian people (who were not identified) were observed "fishing by the score at the mouth of the West Arm" and making big catches of char, with "occasional fish weighing 10 to 15 pounds" (*Nelson Daily News* 1910a). An early resident of Nelson described finding "an old Indian couple" camped in the summer of 1916 near the Procter lighthouse (Affleck 1978:170). Other local residents also recalled "the Indians in their teepees at the lighthouse" (Procter-Harrop Historical Book

Committee 1988:318).

Information about the use of the Procter area by Lower Kutenai Natives in the early 20th century was recalled by Grace Spigariol, whose parents moved from Lardeau to Procter in 1914:

> [Mrs. Spigariol] remembers going down to the wharf [at Procter] with her playmates, to watch the Indian women smoking their fish catches and bathing their babies in the icy waters of the lake. Chief George [John] Alexander and members of the Kootenai band [from Creston], camped at Procter every summer, to fish and gather huckleberries, and trade with the local merchants (Renaud 1977:29; Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:4).

Other non-Natives also recalled Chief Alexander (see Figure 24) coming to the general vicinity of Procter. For example, Stan Jackson of Procter recalled that he often saw "Chief John Alexander of the Creston Indian Band" and two Kutenai women jigging for ling cod from sturgeon-nosed canoes near the Procter lighthouse (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:293). Nick Dosenberger Sr., whose family lived at Sunshine Bay, about 4 Km (2.5 miles) west from Procter on the south side of the West Arm, recalled Chief Alexander coming to sell fish to his mother [This appears to have been in the period from the 1910s-1920s] (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:316-317).[57]

There is a consensus in the sources that have been reviewed that the Lower Kutenai people's visits to the West Arm area ceased sometime between the late-1920s and mid-1930s. Mr. B. Woodrow of Robson is reported to have stated that: "The last Indians seen [by him] ... were a group of Kootenay near Procter ...in 1928-1929" (Harrison 1961a). Similarly, E.L. Affleck reported that the Kutenai people stopped travelling to the West Arm of Kootenay Lake "some time before 1930" (Affleck 1978:6). Dave Peachey recalled that it was "about 1932" that a band of Lower Kutenai led by Chief John Alexander stopped coming to the West Arm. Up until this time, Mr. Peachey stated, these Kutenai people used to come every year by canoe and camp in tents at a place in Procter known locally as "the point" [where the Anscomb Ferry dock is presently located (Ramsden 1999c:pers. comm.)] (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:4-5).[58]

Figure 24. Chief John Alexander of the Lower Kutenai (photo likely taken around Procter). Page 317, In, Kootenay Outlet Reflections, published by the Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee, Procter, B.C., 1988.

Alan Ramsden, who was born in 1926 and has lived all his life in the West Arm area, also recalls the Kutenai Indian people who came up from Creston to Procter. He remembers "Alexander" and his sturgeon-nosed canoe, which was covered with canvas. In August the Kutenai people would troll for trout and pick huckleberries, which they would sell door-to-door. They stayed in tents, which Mr. Ramsden recalls as A-frame tents, not tipis. As far as Mr. Ramsden recalls, these Kutenai people had stopped coming to the West Arm by the mid-1930s (Ramsden 1999a).

Harrop/Redfish Creek/Longbeach Area

A Harrop pioneer recalled Lower Kutenai people coming in the early 1900s to pick huckleberries on the mountainsides around the community of Harrop, located on the south shore of the West Arm about 8 Km (5 miles) west from Procter:

> There are vivid memories of summers when canoe after Indian canoe could be seen paddling down the West Arm from Creston. These Indians landed and built their teepees on property now owned by Ogilvies and Fairbanks.[59] During the day the Indians climbed the mountain in search of huckleberries then in the evening they would bring their square coal-oil cans filled to the brim with delicious berries and sell them (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:358).

Local residents also recalled the Lower Kutenai coming in the early 20th century to fish kokanee at Redfish Creek, on the north side of the West Arm, directly across from Harrop, and at Longbeach, about 2 Km (1.25 miles) west from Redfish Creek. Tudor Rutherglen, who came to Longbeach in 1924 at the age of seven, recalled the vast numbers of kokanee that spawned in Redfish Creek, and after which this creek was named. He also reported that the "Kootenai" [Lower Kutenai] came here for the kokanee:

> The Kootenai Indians would also camp at Redfish Creek to dry fish for winter use. Some of the early settlers related how they would pay a visit just to watch the Indians preparing the fish for their racks. They reported that the aroma was quite powerful (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:396).

Local historian E.L. Affleck wrote that:

> Longbeach was one of the camping places for Kootenay Indians who came down from the Creston Flats when the fish [kokanee] were running. They dried and smoked their catch over fires on the beach (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:391).[60]

i7a7kskekeńí ('place of kokanee')

Ray (1936b:126) identified "*yakskukəní*," which he translated as 'where many kokanee are found,' as a Lakes village located "about six or seven miles above Nelson" on the West Arm. One of our Lakes consultants, Mary Marchand, recognized this Okanagan-Colville term as a place name but did not know where it was located. We have transcribed this term as *i7a7kskekeńí* and translated it as 'place of kokanee' (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:107). While Ray did not refer to the fishing of kokanee at this site, its name — *i7a7kskekeńí* ('place of kokanee') — certainly implies such an activity. What Ray (1936b:126) did say with reference to this place was that "root gathering, bear and caribou hunting and trout

fishing were all profitable."

We cannot say with certainty where *i7a7kskekeńí* was located. There were numerous places throughout this area where kokanee spawned; Mr. Alan Ramsden (1999b:pers. comm.) has pointed out that kokanee formerly spawned as far down the West Arm as Nelson (at Cottonwood Creek, which enters into the south side of the West Arm through the southwestern portion of Nelson). Mr. Ramsden recalls that in the 1930s there were large numbers of kokanee at several places that could theoretically fit within the area identified above by Ray: Five Mile Creek (Troup Junction),[61] on the south side of the West Arm; "Six Mile Creek" (now known as Duhamel Creek), on the Arm's north side; and "Nine Mile Creek" (now Lasca Creek), on the Arm's south side. Mr. Ramsden was told about an Indian encampment — although he did not see it in his time — in the bay where the Willow Point community is now located, just west from the mouth of Duhamel Creek. As well, Mr. Ramsden noted that artifacts have been found north from this bay (Ramsden 1999b:pers. comm.).[62]

The site adjacent to the community of Willow Point fits Ray's (1936b:126) description of "six or seven miles above Nelson." However, Ray's (1936b:114) map locates this place on the *south* side of the West Arm, whereas Duhamel Creek ("Six Mile Creek") is on the *north* side.[63] If *i7a7kskekeńí* was actually on the south side of the West Arm and was in fact approximately seven miles from Nelson, then the place Ray was referrring to may have been Lasca Creek [which is actually located about 12 Km (7.5 miles) from Nelson].[64]

"Hoover Point," opposite Nelson

The area formerly known locally as "Hoover Point" was located across from the city of Nelson, on the northwest side of the West Arm, in the vicinity of Lot 393, opposite from the present-day Nelson Airfield. This place was first known as "Hoover Point," then as "Squires Point," and finally as "Burns Point" (Ramsden 1999a and 1999c:pers. comm.); it was also known as the place where pioneer Fred Hume had a house (Affleck 1978:161-162).

Only Verne Ray provided the Native term for this place (Hoover Point). Ray identified it as a Lakes camp that was located "opposite Nelson," and transcribed its Native (Okanagan-Colville) name as *"nx̣a·x̣a'tsən"* [*nx̣a7x̣á7tsen* (?)] which he translated as 'cave in the rocks.'[65] Ray stated that *"nx̣a·x̣a'tsən"* was "at the edge of the caribou hunting area," and that "line fishing for trout was also profitable here" (Ray 1936b:126).

In addition to Ray's information, there are several other references to the former Native use of this area. Hoover Point was presumably the area referred to as "a camp site opposite Nelson" where artifacts were gathered in the 1910s (H.Smith c.1930). This same place, Hoover Point, was where pioneer Fred Hume built a house (and named the area "Killarney") in the early 1900s. "An old Indian camping grounds" was said to have been situated "downstream from Killarney," according to Fred Hume's son, Jack Hume (Affleck 1978:161-162).

"Hoover Point" was also referred to by Dick Fry who was perhaps the earliest non-Native pioneer of this region. According to Bob Yuill, himself a pioneer of the Kootenays since the 1880s,[66] Dick Fry told him that he was married to a "Colville" [Lakes] woman:

> on that point where Hoover had his ranch across the lake [from Nelson] below Fred Hume's place. I think he told me that was in 1867. The Colville [Lakes] Indians and the Kootenays would gather every Indian summer and get redfish [kokanee] and meat,

> all they wanted, and do their courting and gambling and have a big blow out and part another year (Yuill 1918:13; 1935).

This same area — but identified as "Squires Point" rather than "Hoover Point" — was referred to by early Nelson pioneer Arthur Farwell. According to E.L. Affleck (1978:11-12), Farwell "claimed that an old Indian woman described to him a savage battle between the Lakes and Kootenays, one party camping on the C.P.R. Flats at Nelson, and the other at Squires Point [Hoover Point] on the North Shore." [67]

Nelson

Very likely the Native name for Nelson is a Kutenai term. The transcriptions of this place name have been consistent over the years: it was recorded by Boas as "*a$_a$'kya´mlu· p*" (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:322); by Teit (1930b:210) as "*kaia´mELEp*;" by Ray (1936b:126) as "*k'iyà´mlupᵘ* ;" and on a recent map of Kutenai places as "*ʔaqiyamɬup*" (Anon. c.1995). None of these sources provided an English translation for this term.[68]

Significantly, Ray (1936b:126) acknowledged the possibility that "*k'iyà´mlupᵘ*" might be a Kutenai word, thus the terms transcribed by both Ray and Teit (1930b:210) likely represent an Okanagan-Colville pronunciation of the original Kutenai term. Of all the Lakes village site names provided by Ray, only this one, "*k'iyà´mlupᵘ*," is indicated as possibly a Kutenai term, rather than a Lakes (Okanagan-Colville) one.

It appears that Teit and Ray recorded the Native name for Nelson independently, and each associated it with the Lakes people. Teit (1930b:210) said that Nelson was an important Lakes temporary camp, while Ray (1936b:126) recorded that it was a Lakes "settlement at the site of the present town of Nelson."[69] Elsewhere, Teit (1898-1910) recorded that a trail ran from Lower Arrow Lake "to Kootenay Lake near Nelson where some trading was done with the Lower Kootenays" (Teit 1898-1910).[70]

While Turney-High (1941:5) stated that the "Lower Kutenai often took salmon at Nelson" (Turney-High 1941:51), it is very likely that the fishery Turney-High was referring to was not at Nelson but at Bonnington Falls or the mouth of the Slocan River, since Nelson is *above* Bonnington Falls, which prevented the salmon from ascending further up the Kootenay River (see also the discussion of Bonnington Falls that follows).

One of the sites where Natives were said to have lived around Nelson was identified by early 20th century sources as the "C.P.R. Flats," located just west of the town centre. Harlan Smith noted that some very fine examples of arrow points and scrapers had been obtained from the C.P.R. Flats by local artifact collectors. In particular, Robb Sutherland reportedly gathered an impressive collection of arrowheads from "the flats bordering the river near the Canadian Pacific railroad station at Nelson" (Sutherland 1916, in, H.Smith c.1930). Smith's (c.1930) statement that this latter site was "used as a camp site long after the white men came" is at least partially consistent with an 1899 report that "Colville" [i.e. Lakes] Indian people had "one of their potato plots here in Nelson down about where the Chinese gardens now are" (*Nelson Daily Miner* 1899b) — these "Chinese gardens" were located around 1900 in the vicinity of the former mouth of Cottonwood Creek on the west side of Nelson (Ramsden and Lamb 2000:pers.comm.).

Several other camping sites besides the C.P.R. Flats in the Nelson area are referred to in Harlan Smith's (c.1930) inventory of Robb Sutherland's artifact collection. One of the places inventoried

was identified as a camp site at "Connaught Park" [now Lakeside Park in Nelson, on the west side of the southern end of the Nelson Bridge (Ramsden 1999c:pers. comm.], and another was a camp site one mile east of Nelson on the north side of the West Arm (H.Smith c.1930).

In August 1899, a Nelson newspaper reported that "quite a fleet of Indian canoes visited town yesterday, each loaded with a couple of adult Indians and a miscellaneous assortment of papooses" (*Nelson Daily Miner* 1899a). The ethnicity of these Natives was not recorded. Another account from June 1902, which did not identify the Natives' ethnicity either, recorded that Natives fishing between Nelson and Balfour brought in baskets of trout of all sizes into Nelson, where they found a ready sale (*Nelson Daily News* 1902a). Two similar accounts from June 1903 referred to "Indians who are encamped near the city" who were bringing in an average of five hundred pounds of trout a week to sell to dealers, as well as those sold to fishermen and private parties (*Nelson Daily News* 1903c; 1903d). While these Natives were not identified, it is possible they were the same group of Lower Kutenai from Bonner's Ferry who in late April 1903 had been identified camped near Five Mile Point (on the south side of the West Arm, about four miles northeast from Nelson), where they were said to have "taken up their quarters for the summer fishing" (*Nelson Daily News* 1903a).[71] Another party of Kutenai was recorded arriving in Nelson in July 1904 (*Nelson Daily News* 1904b).

Grohman Creek/Grohman Narrows

Neither Lakes ethnographers nor Kutenai ethnographers have identified a village site in the Grohman Creek/Grohman Narrows area[72] which is located approximately two miles (about three Km) west of Nelson. Archaeologist Harlan I. Smith, however, *did* record a substantial amount of information about the former Native use of the Grohman Creek/Grohman Narrows area — some of his data came from his own examination of this area (likely around 1920), and some of it came from information provided to him by local artifact collectors.[73] The evidence Smith recorded about these old sites is of particular value because some of them were already destroyed even at that time.[74]

Smith indicated that Grohman Creek was only one of a substantial number of old settlement sites on the West Arm and west down the Kootenay River. He concluded that:

> from the pool at South Slocan to where the West Arm joins the main lake at Proctor is one of the richest sites for the archeologist to be found in Canada. Camp and village sites being found wherever the ground was at all suitable between these two points,[75] and today it is noticeable that there is almost invariably good fishing in the lake and river opposite these camp sites (H.Smith c.1930).

Smith's inventory of Sutherland's collection made reference to both a village site and a camp site at Grohman Creek, whereas the large majority of West Arm sites identified in this inventory are listed simply as camp sites (H.Smith c.1930).[76]

Additional information about the Grohman Creek site is provided by local historian Alan Ramsden. He recalls that his father, William Ramsden, who came to Nelson in 1912, used to say that he had heard about Natives camping on the north side of Grohman Creek Narrows, on the east side of Grohman Creek mouth, although he did not see them here, himself (Ramsden 1999a:pers.comm.).

Several camp sites in the West Arm area west of Grohman Creek, and in the area east from

Bonnington Falls, were identified in Smith's (c.1930) inventory of Sutherland's artifact collection.[77] Smith (c.1930) stated that skeletal evidence of past battles between Natives for this area could be seen here even in the early 20th century. According to Smith, the Kutenai fought fierce battles:

> at the western extremity of their domain, which some authorities claim ended at the rapids just where the West Arm of Kootenay Lake ends and the river begins. From this point down past the pool below Bonnington Falls was evidently disputed to be seen on the form of bleaching skeletons on the heights above Grohman Point (at the lower end of the West Arm) until a few years ago (H.Smith c.1930).

Apparently evidence of these battles extended both east and west of the Grohman Narrows area. For example, local historian E.L. Affleck (1978:11-12) recorded that Arthur Farwell, an early pioneer of Nelson, "claimed that an old Indian woman described to him a savage battle between the Lakes and Kootenays, one party camping on the C.P.R. Flats at Nelson, and the other at Squires Point [Hoover Point] on the North Shore" (see also the discussion of "Hoover Point" in the present report).[78] Also, a July 28th, 1910 newspaper article, while reporting that a local resident had "brought in a number of Indian curios from his ranch at Granite," added that these artifacts were found "in an Indian mound which is supposed to have been an old Indian battle ground, where the Spokane [sic] Indians had their conflicts with the Kootenay Indians" (*Nelson Daily News* 1910b). (The reference to "Spokane Indians" is very likely a reference to the Lakes people).

Bonnington Falls

Bonnington Falls was located about 10 miles (16 Km) west of Nelson, near the upper end of the Kootenay River. The Upper Bonnington Dam was built on the site of Bonnington Falls, which is actually the larger of two sets of Falls here (Lamb 2000:pers.comm.). Ethnohistoric sources make reference to these Falls, and note that the salmon could not get past them and ascend into Kootenay Lake.[79]

Teit (1930b:211) is the only source who has provided the Native name for what he termed "Bonnington Falls and neighbouring parts of Kootenai River." While the word Teit elicited and transcribed as "*ntsa'kuławi'łx*^{u}" (and translated as 'portage or carrying place for canoes') is clearly an Okanagan-Colville term, we cannot determine the specific term he attempted to transcribe. The only part of this place name that is recognizable is the lexical suffix *-ilhxw* (transcribed by Teit as "*i'łx*^{u}") which means 'dwelling' in the Okanagan-Colville language, but this is not consistent with Teit's translation, 'portage or carrying place for canoes.' Nor is Teit's term consistent with the Okanagan-Colville term for 'portage place,' which is *snk'ewíltn.*[80]

In 1889, geologist and ethnologist George Dawson, while travelling in this area, identified Bonnington Falls as a fishery. Dawson also recorded that the falls were formerly used by "Salish" Indians, and that the country east of the falls belonged to the Kutenai. In his published report on the District, Dawson stated that Bonnington Falls, which he termed "St. Agnes Falls":

> were formerly a noted salmon-fishing place for the Salish Indians and the limit of these people to the east, the country beyond belonging to the Kootanie Tribes (Dawson 1890:19).

Dawson's personal diary of his visit to the site, on June 26th 1889, provides further information about the ethnicity of the "Salish," and corroborates his view that Bonnington Falls was also the westernmost boundary of the Kutenai. His diary stated that:

> all this [Kootenay] Lake is Kootanie territory, & that the Kootanie country extended down the river to the falls, the Colville [Lakes] Indians (Salish) coming up as far as the lower fall to fish (Dawson 1889).

Concerning Bonnington Falls, Teit (1930b:211) in his published work stated only that "the Lake [*sngaytskstx*] portaged canoes and goods at this place, the river being unnavigable," but added in his fieldnotes that there were "no Lake permanent camps above Bonnington Falls" (Teit n.d.).[81]

Archaeological evidence strongly suggests that an important fishery was located at Bonnington Falls a long time ago. The area was once a very rich trove of Native artifacts. Professor Arthur Lakes, a geologist who wrote a lengthy article in 1916 on the Nelson area's prehistory, noted that the bluffs and shores of Bonnington Falls had been the most fruitful in the area for artifact-collectors, and that Bonnington appeared to have been a favourite camping ground. Professor Lakes suggested as well that the location of the artifacts might indicate that the site had been used for a very long time:

> [The] specimens found on the terrace near Bonnington, a hundred feet or more above the stream, are thought by some to be of considerable antiquity, since on lower terraces just above the stream no remains are found where they might be expected. It was therefore thought that the river has cut down its canon to the present depth 100 or more feet below the upper surface where the remains abound, and which was in those early days the shore of the stream (Lakes 1916).

Archaeologist Harlan Smith, who visited the Bonnington Falls site at some point in the 1920s, noted that though even by that time the site had been much picked over and disturbed by collectors, there was an identifiable village site here. Smith also noted that the signs of the village indicated its extreme age:

> The next important point is what had evidently been a village si[t]e on the high bank above Bonnington Falls.[82] Not many specimens were secured here, the site now being an orchard and the best specimens having been picked up and scattered among several collectors. Mr. Botting, of Bonnington Falls, had one of the best of the collections from this point. Camp sites and village sites are plentiful from the sites being on higher ground, out of reach of the floods, and camp sites right on the shore. Round wickiup holes [house pits] marked the village sites, these being so old, however, that no trace of the timbers could be seen (H.Smith c.1930).[83]

Several ethnohistoric accounts referred to Bonnington Falls. Edgar Dewdney passed the falls in May 1865 on his way to Kootenay Lake. While his report of this journey made at the time (Dewdney 1865c) says little about the falls, a more detailed memoir Dewdney compiled later suggests that his Native guide and packer was familiar with the site:

> The Kootenais River, as all know who have seen it, is a very rapid stream from its mouth up to the lake, a distance of some fourteen miles, and we had to make fourteen portages in that distance, one around what is known as the Bonnington Falls of a mile. I had one Indian with me called Peter, from Fort Colville. He was a very strong man, and packed my blankets, a sack of flour under each arm, his own traps, paddle and poles, and the canoe on top of it all. He stopped once on the portage, and that was to tell me to go and look at the falls, the roar of which I could hear although the trail was some distance from them. I thought they were the finest I had ever seen... (Gosnell 1908:10).

While there were no Native people at the falls when Dewdney was there, the Native man, Peter (who was probably a Lakes Indian) appeared to be familiar with them.[84]

Bonnington Falls also seems to have been a place where the Kutenai portaged or stored their goods when venturing further west [as we have previously noted, Teit (1930b:211) wrote that Lakes Indians used this same Falls as a portage place]. In 1861, Magistrate W.G. Cox, during a trip to the mouth of the Kootenay River, encountered a Kutenai man, his wife, and children several miles up the Columbia from Castlegar — they told him that they had come up from Lower Kutenai country and left their canoe above Bonnington Falls (Cox 1861).

Other ethnohistoric evidence also indicates that the Kutenai were familiar with Bonnington Falls. When Hudson's Bay Company employee William Kittson went past here in late August or early September of 1826, the Kutenai who were with him referred to a distinctive rock pillar on the south shore of the river at these falls as "*Skincous*" (Kittson 1826) — the Kutenai word for the mythological trickster, Coyote. These Kutenai people told Kittson that "*Skincous*" had placed himself there in the river "to stop the Salmon from going further up the River in revenge on the former natives who are said to have been the *Shoewhaps* [Shuswaps] for not allowing him the freedom of their wives" (Kittson 1826). This story is a variant of the widely-spread tradition throughout this region of the Plateau that Coyote (see also Section 5 of the present report) in mythological times spread salmon throughout the land, but made waterfalls or other barriers to stop these fish wherever people would not give him a wife. However it is our opinion that Kittson's identification of the "former natives" here as "*Shoewhaps* [Shuswaps]" did not mean literally that the Shuswap used to live at Bonnington Falls. It is much more likely that this statement reflects the fact that the Shuswap, as Teit (1930b:258) has pointed out, were formerly enemies of the Kutenai.[85]

A 1984 Preliminary Report surveying contemporary Kutenai land use practices, written by Justus Simonetta Development Consultants on behalf of the Kootenay Area Indian Council, identified Rover Creek as being used by contemporary Kutenai hunters (Justus Simonetta 1984) (Rover Creek drains into the Kootenay River below Bonnington Falls).

Wards Bay/Slocan Pool

What is now known as the Wards Bay/Slocan Pool area of the Kootenay River is located approximately 1.5 miles (about 2.5 Km) upriver from the confluence of the Slocan River with the Kootenay. As discussed in Section 4.2 of the

present report, there is a possibility that a Lakes settlement known as "*snt'ekwl̓ítkw*" was located in this area, on the north side of the Kootenay River. According to Teit (1930b:210), this place (whose name Teit transcribed as "*sntɛktɛli'ṭ.kʷ*" ["*snt'ekwl̓ítkw*"]) was a noted salmon-fishing site. On the other hand, Ray (1936b:125-126) identified "*ntɪkuli'tkʷ*" ["*snt'ekwl̓ítkw*"] as a popular trout fishing place and a base for hunting and berry picking.

While we cannot say with certainty where "*snt'ekwl̓ítkw*" was located, evidence of former Native uses of this area is provided by the existence of numerous archaeolgical sites in the Slocan Pool area. For example, Eldridge (1981:52-53, 56-57) has pointed out that there are significant archaeological sites on both the south and west shores of the Slocan Pool. And years earlier, H.I. Smith (c.1930) noted that many artifacts had been collected along the shores of the Slocan Pool, and that Gold Island in this pool was "used as a burial place."[86]

Tarrys

A pictograph site[87] and an adjacent "Indian fishing place" were recently mentioned in association with a rock bluff on the west side of the Kootenay River, immediately upriver from the non-Native cemetery below Tarrys. This rock bluff is approximately 5 miles (about 8 Km) upriver from the Highway 3 bridge which crosses the Kootenay River near Brilliant.

A local Castlegar resident, Dave Gavrilik, stated that his father and uncle used to fish adjacent to this rock bluff, and that they talked about an "Indian fishing place" at the low falls here. Locals referred to this fishing area as the "bread basket." Details of the use of this "Indian fishing place" were not known to Dave Gavilick (1999:pers.comm.). Another local resident, Peter Popoff (1999:pers.comm.), noted there are Indian pictographs on this same rock bluff.[88]

Ainsworth Hot Springs

Ainsworth Hot Springs is located on the west side of Kootenay Lake, approximately 8 miles (13 Km) north from the entrance to the West Arm. The Kutenai name "*a$_a$'kɪnuχɬeètna'na*" (not translated) was recorded by Chamberlain for Ainsworth Hot Springs (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:321).

According to J.W.E. Alexander, a pioneer of the Duncan River/Lardeau River area, "the Indians [89] came for miles around to bathe in Ainsworth Hot Springs to cure illnesses, relax sore muscles and injuries or to just enjoy the warm water in a central meeting place" (Alexander 1998:87) (see also the discussion of Kootenay Joe Creek that follows).

Crawford Bay and Riondel Area

Some information about Native Indian use of the Crawford Bay and Riondel area (across Kootenay Lake from the entrance to the West Arm) has been compiled in a local history of Riondel by Mrs. Muriel Gendron, who refers to the Lower Kutenai as "the Canoe tribe" and notes that they "occupied the Crawford Bay-Riondel area, living on the water most of the time and setting up camp along the shore." According to Mrs. Gendron, "The last battle between the Canoes [Lower Kutenai] and the Upper Kootenays was staged at the site where Bluebell Mine now stands" (Gendron [1987]).

Local historian E.L. Affleck asked an early resident of Crawford Bay, who came there in 1912, about the Natives in this area and was told the following:

> The Indians did not live at Crawford Bay, but the Lower Kootenay tribe would come down regularly from the Kootenay Flats to hunt mule deer,

> caribou and bear and to pick huckleberries. Many pestles, grinding stones and arrowheads have been found on the Crawford Creek flats where they beached their canoes . . . (Affleck 1978:149).

Bluebell Mountain

The name for Bluebell Mountain, located on the east side of Kootenay Lake above the present town of Riondel, has been recorded as "*chikamin*" [this is a Chinook Jargon term meaning 'metal; iron' (Thomas 1935:68,146, 150)]. Apparently the name "*chikamin*" was applied to this mountain by a Native guide (likely a Lakes Indian) from Fort Colvile who accompanied Edgar Dewdney in 1865. Dewdney subsequently recorded that while on Kootenay Lake:

> on the east side the Indians pointed out to me what they called the Chikamin mountain, or Metal mountain. They told me they had made bullets out of the lead that oozed out of the great fissures of the rock. This subsequently was located, and I believe is the great Blue Bell claim (Gosnell 1908:10).

Similar information was provided by Mrs. Muriel Gendron who stated in her local history of the Crawford Bay and Riondel area that: "The Indians have a strong claim to the discovery of the Bluebell mine in the 1800's extracting lead from the metal to make musket balls" (Gendron [1987]) (see also the discussion of Kaslo that follows).

Undetermined Place on West Side of Kootenay Lake

Ray (1936b:126) provided the term "*na·x̣spoa̓lk'en*" in his list of Lakes villages. It is the only Lakes place name that we are aware of that has been recorded anywhere on Kootenay Lake, itself (as distinct from the West Arm).

Clearly "*na·x̣spoa̓lk'en*" is an Okanagan-Colville term. Ray (1936b:126) stated that "*na·x̣spoa̓lk'en*" means a 'rocky bank made by *spoa̓lk'en* (mythological character).' While there is no doubt that Ray's "*spoa̓lk'en*" is the Okanagan-Colville term *spwaĺ̓kn* which means 'pileated woodpecker,'[90] and that this place name is derived from *spwaĺ̓kn*, we do not recognize the prefix that Ray transcribed as "*na·x̣-*". Given that Ray mentioned a 'mythological character,' we presume there was a legend associated with this site, and that this legend involved a pileated woodpecker, but no legend was provided by Ray in this publication. All Ray stated was that "*na·x̣spoa̓lk'en*" was a Lakes (*sngaytskstx)* temporary camp "on the west shore of upper Kootenay Lake, exact location uncertain" (Ray 1936b:126).

Kaslo

Information about a Native Kutenai term for Kaslo and its translation is provided in Akrigg and Akrigg (1997:132) who cite an August 17th, 1905 letter from Kaslo postmaster I. William Cockle to James White of the Geographic Board of Canada:

> The name Kaslo according to the evidence of an old Kootenay Indian named Sebastian who claims that his grandfather told him the names of stopping camps on Kootenay Lake is derived from the word *Cassoloe*, a blackberry. The affix 'a' to this denotes a place where blackberries grow, this when modified by use results in the word '*Ah-Kas-loe*,' by which name the place was known to the Indians — *Kaslo*, The place where blackberries grow (Akrigg and Akrigg 1997:132).[91]

It should be noted, however, that the plant species referred to here was likely not "blackberry" but black hawthorn (*Crataegus douglasii*), the Kutenai term for which is transcribed as "*kaɬa*" in a Kutenai ethnobotanical study (Hart, Turner and Morgan 1980:80) — presumably "*Cassoloe*" was Mr. Cockle's attempted transcription of "*kaɬa*." The fact that the name for Kaslo is written as "*qasɬu*" on a map of Kutenai territory and place names (Anon. c.1995) suggests that this place name is, indeed, derived from the word "*kaɬa*" ('black hawthorn').

Archaeologist Harlan Smith indicated a possible use of the Kaslo area, as a source for flint. In discussing the artifacts found on the West Arm of the Kootenay Smith stated that:

> The greater part of the specimens were made from what may be called a grey flint. The source of supply of this material had been a mystery to collectors until members of the Dominion geological survey party found the rock on a mountain near Kaslo,[92] chips and partly completed arrow points proving this to be the place from which the material was obtained (H.Smith c.1930).

Schroeder Point

Edgar Dewdney in 1865 identified what was probably a Kutenai campsite at what was likely Schroeder Point (on the west side of upper Kootenay Lake, approximately midway between Kaslo and the end of the lake), although he did not record an indigenous name for the place. In a report of June 29th, 1865, Dewdney reported that:

> About 30 miles from the outlet of the Kootenay River, on the west shore I met with a camp of Indians; from inquiries made of them I felt confident that the only way to reach Wild Horse Creek in the direction I was travelling was to follow about 20 miles the stream that flows into the North end of the Lake from the northwest and then strike across the old Indian trail to the head of the Columbia River (Dewdney 1865c).

Dewdney's distance estimate is correct — the distance from the West Arm entrance up to Schroeder Point *is* approximately 30 miles (48 Km). Moreover, a review of the 1:50,000 topographical map for this area indicates that Schroeder Point, a prominent and flat promontory located at the mouth of Schroeder Creek (Handley 1986; Akrigg and Akrigg 1997:144). While Dewdney did not explicitly identify the Native people he met here, their knowledge of the route to Wild Horse Creek, deep within Kutenai territory, suggests that they were Kutenai Indians.

Kootenay Joe Creek

This creek empties into the east side of Kootenay Lake, across the lake from and north of Schroeder Point. Apparently this creek was named after a Lower Kutenai Indian Chief from Creston who was known locally as "Kootenay Joe." It is said that Kootenay Joe spent a considerable amount of time hunting, fishing and trapping near this creek. In 1986, remains of Kootenay Joe's cabin were visible near the mouth of this creek (Handley 1986; Akrigg and Akrigg 1997:144).

A non-Indian pioneer of the Duncan River/ Lardeau River region recently made reference to a "sauna cave" at Johnsons Landing, at the mouth of Kootenay Joe Creek:

> They [Indian people] made their own saunas in caves along the lake [Kootenay Lake] shore. One such cave was at Johnson's Landing. They would make a big fire to heat the granite boulders in the cave until they

> were red hot. They would take their clothes off, throw cold water on the boulders and enjoy the steam, then, when sweating well, they would dash to the lake and jump in the cold water. This was a shock to the system but a good conditioner if the old heart could stand it (Alexander 1998:87).

Alexander (1998:86) also commented that the beach area of Johnsons Landing "has been the source of many arrow heads" and added that this was a site "where Indians chipped arrowheads from rock found in other areas and brought here to fashion."

SECTION 6.0 ENDNOTES

[1] For example, James Teit (1909a; 1930b:210-211) stated that the boundary between the Lakes and Kutenai was anywhere from "at least as far as" Bonnington Falls, to "around Nelson or a little above," to "6 miles E. of Nelson," to "seven or eight miles east of Nelson." This last estimate was the one that was published, and it would place their easterly limit in the vicinity of Lasca Creek (Nine Mile Creek) which empties into the south side of the West Arm about 7.5 miles (approximately 12 Km) east from Nelson (see also the discussion that follows).

[2] Years earlier, ethnologist George Gibbs had provided a general description of the Kutenai in his March 1854 report on the Indian Tribes of Washington territory. Gibbs stated that his Kutenai information had been secured from Father De Smet:

> the Kootenaies or Kitunhas, and the Flatbows, who now, according to Father De Smet, form one tribe . . . inhabit the country extending along the foot of the Rocky Mountains, north of the Flatheads, for a very considerable distance, and are about equally in American and British territory . . . (Gibbs 1855:416).

Because the term "Flatbows" was often used to identify the Lower Kutenai in early years, Gibbs (citing De Smet) thus indicated the difference between the Lower and Upper Kutenai.

[3] Dawson credited Robert Galbraith for the names of the Kutenai subgroups (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:124b-125b). Galbraith was the former M.P.P. from Fort Steele, had acted for some years as the "medical advisor" to the Kutenai, and would later serve as Kootenay Indian Agent for over two decades. Clara Graham, while researching her history of the Kootenay District, later found the same information in Galbraith's own records (Graham 1963:4).

[4] Dawson identified John W. McKay as a source of his additional information; Mr. McKay had been a Hudson's Bay Company employee and Indian agent for many years. However, Dawson likely had other sources — Native people in particular — as he spent considerable time throughout this region of British Columbia during the years 1877 and 1888-1890, and as he noted himself was in almost constant contact with Native people (Dawson 1892:3,6; Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:7).

[5] W.A. Baillie-Grohman (1907:306-308), who became well acquainted with the Kutenai people beginning around 1880 and continuing for many years, referred to the Upper Kutenai as "Horse Indians" as distinct from the Lower Kutenai who he described as "Canoe Indians," although he also observed that the Lower Kutenai "fish as much as they hunt."

[6] Chamberlain adds in his unpublished notes that "*Aqkōqtlā'tlqō*," derived from "*aqkōk̓Enūk*" meaning 'lake,' signifies 'people of the lake,' and that this reference pertains to Kootenay Lake. At another place in his notes, Chamberlain comments that "*Aqkōqtlā'tlqō*" probably signifies 'those who dwell on the *AqkōkLāQāL* (Kootenay River)' (Chamberlain n.d.f). Chamberlain thus appears to indicate that the Lower Kutenai lived on both Kootenay Lake and Kootenay River draining into this lake. Chamberlain's translation varies somewhat from Brunton's

(1998:226) statement that the name for the Lower Kutenai (transcribed as "*ʔa·k̓aq̓ɬahaɬxu*" in Brunton) translates as 'meadow people' and "derives from the swampy nature of the Kootenai (Kootenay) valley where these Kootenai reside."

[7] The same term "*aqkōqtlā́hātl*" that Chamberlain (1893:550) provided for the Lower Kootenay River appeared in Boas and Chamberlain (1918:322) as "*a$_a$'kuk.ɬáx̣aɬ*", also with reference to this same area. In this same work, Boas and Chamberlain (1918:321) noted that the 'region inhabited by the Lower Kutenai' was known as "*a$_a$'kako·́wo·k.*"

[8] Although Curtis correctly used the Native term for the Lower Kutenai as a whole, his description of their territory refers only to a small portion of it.

[9] Ray (1936b:114) extended Lakes territory even farther, to the western shoreline of Kootenay Lake.

[10] Detailed data on these subgroups are not in Schaeffer's (1940) dissertation (which focuses on the Kutenai subsistence quest) but are found in his unpublished 1935 fieldnotes held by the American Museum of Natural History in New York and the Glenbow Foundation in Calgary. Citations from Schaeffer's 1935 fieldnotes were used extensively in a 1950s study by anthropologist Stuart Chalfant (1974b); these excerpts from Schaeffer are used in the present report as a substitute for the original notes.

[11] Turney-High's delineation of this western boundary for the Kutenai is not consistent with the views of others. For example, a recently-published Plateau linguistic overview article (Kinkade et al. 1998:50-51) maps the linguistic territory of the Kutenai and identifies their western linguistic boundary with Okanagan in an approximate south-north line west from the western side of Kootenay Lake, crossing the West Arm in the vicinity of Nelson. An earlier linguistic map by Kinkade and Suttles (1987:Plate 66) placed the western boundary of Kutenai along the *eastern* side of Kootenay Lake, north of the West Arm — this latter boundary is consistent with the location of this same boundary on linguistic maps by Suttles (1985) and more recently by Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998:2). Many years earlier, an ethnological map by C.F. Newcombe (1909) of the B.C. Provincial Museum placed the western boundary of the Kutenai as a north-south line through the middle portion of the Lardeau River, through Nelson on the West Arm, and then along the upper Salmo River [our own published map of linguistic distribution for Native groups in B.C. (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983:21) independently placed this western Kutenai boundary in approximately the same position as Newcombe (1909) had placed it]. The same approximate western Kutenai boundary appeared on a linguistic map prepared by Boas (1928) (based on data from Teit), although the portion of Boas' boundary below Nelson was slightly to the east of the Salmo River (but still west from Kootenay Lake). Duff's (1956:26) linguistic distribution map placed the western Kutenai boundary along the western side of Kootenay Lake, to about as far south as Cultus Creek.

[12] Archaeologist and ethnohistorian David Chance also prepared a detailed and comprehensive Kutenai report, several years prior to Allan Smith's study. While Smith's study centers on Kutenai subsistence and settlement patterns, Chance's focuses on the Kutenai fur trade between 1795 and 1871 (Chance 1981). Chance makes extensive use of Hudson's Bay Company records in his report.

[13] Allan Smith (1984:26) explains that his decision to place the western boundary "somewhere between the lake [Kootenay Lake] itself and a point [in the West Arm] approximately 10 miles below the lake" is based on his consideration of Teit's (1930b:210-211) and Ray's (1936b:114,126) data, and on environmental facts (see also Section 3.1 of the present study).

[14] In evaluating the Lower Kutenai use of Kootenay Lake and the surrounding area, Smith cites W.A. Baillie-Grohman's (1907:307-308) comments about this subject (see the ethnohistoric discussion that follows) and concludes that "the mountain slopes surrounding Kootenay Lake comprised an important part of Kutenai hunting territory in aboriginal times" (A.Smith 1984:25-26).

[15] Presumably, Smith had not considered Alexander Henry's statement in 1811, in reference to "McGillivray's River" (the Kootenay River), that the "Flat Bow" (Lower Kutenai) people frequently come up this river "as far as the falls, but seldom attempt to proceed higher" (Coues 1897:2:709-710).

[16] Thompson had met "Lake" (Lower Kutenai) Indian people prior to 1808, however. He recorded that he traded with some "Lake" people in September 1807 at Kootanae House, and that the Lake Chief was a man named "Ugly Head" (Belyea 1994:66-68).

[17] Thompson's "*Akorkanookoo*" seems clearly to be derived from the generic Kutenai term for 'lake' which was transcribed by Boas as "*a_a'ku'q!nuk*" (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:349,367).

[18] In this same report, Dease (1827) also referred to a group called the "Columbia Lake Indians." However the context of his report indicates clearly that "Columbia Lake" is in fact a reference to the Arrow Lakes.

[19] "*Silaquilaque*" and "*Callesouilk*" are Interior Salish terms for the Kutenai. It was noted by Teit (1930b:202) that the Okanagan-Colville used the latter term (which Teit transcribed as "*skalsi'ulk* ") to refer to the Upper Kutenai. What Work wrote as "*Callesouilk*" and Teit wrote as "*skalsi'ulk* " is the same term, *kelsíwlhkw* ('upper water') used by our Okanagan-Colville Native consultants in the 1970s-1980s to refer to the Kutenai. John Work noted that the population of the "*Callesouilk*" [Upper Kutenai] was 349 in total, of whom 91 were men, and that the population of the "*Silaquilaque*" or Flatbows [Lower Kutenai] was 281 in total, of whom 91 were men (Work 1830).

[20] The early fur traders reported that the lowermost part of the Kootenay River was passable, particularly for canoes, but this passage was difficult. George Simpson recorded in October 1824 that "it is a considerable body of water, navigable for canoes, but strong and rapidy" (Simpson 1824-1825:23). John Work's 1830 report indicated that this lower part of the Kootenay was "much obstructed by falls and rapids" (Work 1830). James Turnbull, part of the 1865 Columbia River Exploration Expedition, reported that in his view, navigation up the Kootenay should stop at its mouth, "owing to a rapid there (known as the Kootenay Riffle), which is much more dangerous than any of the rapids in the Fraser between this place [New Westminster] and Yale" (Moberly 1866:12).

[21] Chelempta was in the vicinity of Bonner's Ferry (Wilson 1970:150fn.).

[22] "Selish" is an anglicization of the Native term for the Flathead tribe of Montana who speak a dialect of the Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead Interior Salish language, as do the Kalispel [who are identified as "Kalispelms" in Wilson (1866:305)] (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:67-68; Kinkade et al. 1998:51; Malouf 1998:312). The term "Selish", over time, has come into use to describe the entire "Salish" family of languages.

[23] It is possible, but not certain, that "Columbia River" Indians is a reference to the Lakes people. Providing partial support for this conclusion is Dewdney's (1865b) reference in this same letter to "Gregoire" the well-known Lakes chief. Partial support for this conclusion is also provided by the following: 1. the fact that in September 1859, members of the Palliser expedition left their Native Lakes packers camped near the south end of Kootenay Lake while explorations were undertaken to the southeast (the expedition had identified "a large number of Flat Bow [Lower Kutenai] Indians" camped here in August 1859) (Spry 1968:483-484); 2. the statement by Dick Fry (a non-Native pioneer of this region who was married to a Lakes woman) that in the 1860s the "Colville" [Lakes] and the Kutenai gathered each summer in the West Arm of Kootenay Lake to fish for kokanee, hunt and gamble (Yuill 1918:13); 3. the existence of ethnographic references to the upper west side of Kootenay Lake, at least part of the Lardeau River, and all of Trout Lake being within Lakes territory. On the other hand, when Dewdney was at Fort Shepherd among the Lakes people in late May of 1865, he noted that he had great difficulty in finding any guides/ packers willing to take him to Kootenay Lake via the route from the mouth of the Kootenay River and up the West

Arm. He reported that he found the exploration took much longer than anticipated, "owing principally to the unwillingness of Indians to travel beyond their own section of country" (Dewdney 1865a).

[24] It is not clear if this is a reference to the Lardeau River or to the Duncan River.

[25] The source of this information was likely David McLoughlin, a former Hudson's Bay Company trader in this area, who was fluent in the Kutenai language. McLoughlin would be a credible source for such information. Farwell noted elsewhere in the report that McLoughlin told him that the Lower Kutenai Indians totalled 157 in number, including 35 men, 34 married women, 39 boys, 32 girls, 4 widows, with 6 boys and 3 girls between them, and 4 widows without encumbrances (Farwell 1884).

[26] Farwell (1884) noted that the Kinbasket [Shuswap] people lived near this Lake, stating that "there is a small band of Shuswap Indians living in a village situate about five miles below the Lower Columbia Lake, on the right bank of Columbia River. They number thirty-five men women and children. Originally they came from Shuswap lake and now occasionally visit their relatives at Kamloops. This little settlement keep almost entirely to themselves" (Farwell 1884). This indicates that the lake in question ("Lower Columbia Lake") was at the head of the Columbia.

[27] " *Kloosquees,"* also written as "*kliss-kwiss*," is a Chinook jargon term that means 'mat' or 'cat-tail rush mat' (Thomas 1935:82,150). It is not clear whether Baillie-Grohman here was referring to mats made of cat-tail (*Typha latifolia*), the plant known in the Kutenai language as "*ʔakis hanqu*," or bulrush (tule, *Scirpus acutus*), known as "*tanaɬ*" — both of these species were used by the Kutenai to make mats (Hart, Turner and Morgan 1980:26,40).[Keefer and McCoy (1999:50) also transcribe the Kutenai term for the cat-tail plant as "*ʔakis hanqu*" and also note that it was used to make mats].

[28] The 1999 web page of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) gives the population of the Lower Kootenay Band as approximatley 190, of whom about 120 live On Reserve (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1999).

[29] None of these other three sources — Anon.(c. 1995); Coull (1996:100,104); and Keefer and McCoy (1999:56) — provides a translation of this term.

[30] It is not clear what Cheryl Coull means here by "wild rice," as "wild rice" is not listed among the more than 150 plant species discussed in Hart, Turner and Morgan's (1980) Kutenai ethnobotanical study. Moreover, wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*), a well-known food of numerous Indian tribes, is not found west of Saskatchewan, according to Kuhnlein and Turner (1991:100-102). Most likely the plant species that Ms. Coull is referring to as "wild rice" is either cat-tail (*Typha latifolia*), the plant known in the Kutenai language as "*ʔakis hanqu*," or bulrush (tule, *Scirpus acutus*), known as "*tanaɬ*" — both of these species were used by the Kutenai to make mats (Hart, Turner and Morgan 1980:26,40; Keefer and McCoy 1999:50) and undoubtedly both species were found in the marshlands near the south end of Kootenay Lake.

[31] The term "*ʔakaqtahat* " does not appear on the circa 1995 map (Anon. C. 1995), or on the map and list of place names in Keefer and McCoy (1999).

[32] Johnson (1969:141,366) noted that she obtained this story from 1961 newspaper articles in the *Bonner's Ferry Herald* that were written by Rose Causton on the basis of information Causton was told by Kutenai elders.

[33] Johnson (1969:141fn) states that this story appears on page 325 of Boas and Chamberlain's (1918) publication, *Kutenai Tales*. In fact, this story appears not on page 325, but on pages 268-271 of Boas and Chamberlain's (1918) monograph.

[34] For example, Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly did not identify the aboriginal name for the Indian Reserve he set aside in 1884 for the Lower Kutenai people (O'Reilly 1884). Nor was the name given by Indian Reserve Commissioner A. W. Vowell when he allotted Lower Kootenay Indian Reserves No. 1a and 1b in 1908 (Vowell 1908), or by members of the Royal Commission on Indian

Affairs when they met with the Lower Kootenay Band in 1914 to confirm earlier Reserves and set aside additional ones (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914; 1916).

[35] In 1883, A. Farwell had recorded that the Lower Kutenai "claim the Lower Kootenay as their country, from the boundary line, down Kootenay River, and through Kootenay Lake and its tributaries" (Farwell 1884).

[36] This was an error — the St. Mary's Reserve is not in the Creston area. Rather, it was set aside for the Upper Kootenay people near Cranbrook. The context of Galbraith's statements here indicates clearly that he was referring to *Lower* Kootenay I.R. No. 1, the Creston Reserve.

[37] This policy was subsequently altered by the McKenna-McBride Agreement of 1912, which led to the creation of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs to make what was intended to be a final comprehensive review of Indian Reserves and make such new allotments as were required.

[38] Leases relating to some of these Reserve lands were the subject of litigation between the Lower Kootenay Band and the Federal Government. This litigation was resolved in the Band's favour by the Federal Court of Canada in June 1991 (Chief Chris Luke et al. *v.* the Queen 1991).

[39] It has not been possible to determine the location of "Tommy Swanson's place" — what Mr. Ross describes as "Between Mission and Rykerts" could refer to anywhere along a 6.5 Km (4 mile) stretch of the east side of the Kootenay River, beginning at the international boundary, and including the area of Lower Kootenay Indian Reserve No. 1A.

[40] Dewdney's mixed-blood guide brought to their camp an elderly Indian man who he had found "all alone in a tent on the far side of the valley catching suckers" (Gosnell 1908:12).

[41] Reclamation of the lands south from Kootenay Lake had been proposed in 1893, however it was not until the mid-1930s that the actual dyking was completed (Smyth 1938:39-42). The initial dredging undertaken in the spring of 1895, as part of the reclamation project, was met with resistance by some of the Lower Kutenai Indian people in the Creston area, as noted in an April 13th, 1895 article in the *Nelson Daily Miner*:

> The Reclamation Company, and the inhabitants of the valley have to put up with a good deal from the Indians in order to keep the peace. They claim the whole valley as their inborn right, it seems, and have on several occasions stopped the dredges from working, demanding indemnity from the company before the dredge was allowed to go through their little garden patches (*Nelson Daily Miner* 1895).

Although a *Victoria Daily Colonist* report of this same incident written several days later referred to these Natives as "Colvilles" (*Victoria Daily Colonist* 1895), it is much more likely they were Lower Kutenai.

[42] One non-Native source recalled that in the 1930s, Kutenai people from Cranbrook [Upper Kutenai] would join the Creston Kutenai camped at Indian Point (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:403-404).

[43] Information about the Kutenai people playing the "stick game" at Indian Point was also provided by Chief Chris Luke of the Lower Kootenay Band in the 1980s (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:4).

[44] Information on the location of "Lakeview" has been provided by Tammy Bradford (1999: pers. comm.) of the Creston Archives.

[45] While this small lake, formerly situated about . 8 Km (half a mile) south and slightly east from the southern end of Duck Lake, is not shown on present-day topographic maps, it is indicated on early maps [see, for example, British Columbia (1915), a Department of Lands Map of this region].

[46] No Reserve was allotted by the Commission in Section 5 of Township 11 however (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1916:II:366-367, 372-375).

[47] In an earlier edited version of the Palliser papers, Spry (1963:265) identified this "wide rushy lake" as "Duck Lake."

[48] John Sullivan, also a member of Palliser's expedition, made reference in September 1859 to a camp of Lower Kutenai people close to the end of Kootenay Lake (Spry 1968:47-478) but it is not possible, on the basis of the information provided in Sullivan's despatch, to pinpoint where this camp was located.

[49] This same source noted that by the 1930s, Doukobor women were also picking strawberries here (Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:460).

[50] This same Kutenai term was transcribed as "*a_a'ku'q!nuk*" and translated as 'lake' by Boas (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:76-79,349,367), and as "*aqkōk'ɛnūk,*" 'lake,' by Chamberlain (1893:596).

[51] This information about the Native Kutenai term and its translation was provided in 1905 by Mr. C. Wright, the postmaster at "Kuskonook," in response to a request from Mr. James White of the Geographic Board of Canada (Akrigg 1999: pers. comm.).

[52] Coull (1996:ix) credits Dorothy Alpine, Marian Michell, Leo Williams, and Beverley O'Neil for her information on the Kutenai, so it can be assumed that one of these people is the source of the statements concerning "*kunama'nam.*"

[53] According to Ray, the meaning of "*ktca'ukuɬ*" is 'spliced trousers.' We commented in our 1985 Lakes report that the term "*ktca'ukuɬ*" was not known to us (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:107), but having considered this further, we would now point out that at least the first part of this word, containing the root *kts'*, is recognizable, as there are other Okanagan-Colville terms utilizing the root *kts'*, including *kts'am* which means 'to braid' and *nkets'sẃsm* meaning 'to splice or tie rope' (Bouchard, Pierre and Louie 1973:54; Mattina 1987:146).

[54] Similar information was provided by another local historian, Denise Renaud, who wrote that: "Long before the West Kootenai was settled, the Procter area had been a favourite campsite of the Kootenai Indian Band" (Renaud 1977:28).

[55] Archaeological data confirm the aboriginal use of the area around Balfour/Procter. For example, Harlan I. Smith's inventory of Robb Sutherland's artifact collection records some artifacts as coming from a camp site at Balfour, *and* a "camp site west of Balfour," as well as a camp site at Procter *and* a "Camp Site east Procter" (H.Smith c.1930). How far west of Balfour the north-side site was located was not recorded.

[56] Dave Peachey, a former resident of Balfour, recalled sturgeon-nosed canoes "under construction in the woods behind our place" (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:4). An old-time resident of Procter, Bob Sears, recalled these sturgeon-nosed canoes coming up from Creston (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:292).

[57] Elizabeth Sewell Hodge and Jack Sewell recalled Indian people coming to Sunshine Bay in canoes (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:318).

[58] Dave Peachey recalled a small fenced Indian graveyard on "the point" at Procter. He associated this graveyard with Chief Alexander and his people, and noted that the owner of the property on the point where this graveyard was located used to give the Native people ready access to it. Mr. Peachey commented that the land has been subdivided and there is no trace of the picket fence around this graveyard (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:5).

[59] The local history of this area confirms that the Fairbanks and Ogilvie families lived at Harrop (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:351, 372). Ethel Fairbank MacPherson of Harrop also recalled "Indian families camped on the beach every summer" (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:384). Elsewhere, Mr. E. Van Dulken, who lived at Harrop in the early 1900s, alluded to the presence of artifacts in a "mound" there (Van Dulken 1950).

[60] Other activities were also undertaken by the the Lower Kutenai at Longbeach, according to Affleck:

> The first fruit harvested in Longbeach were strawberries grown on Clubb Ranch. The fruit was picked by women of the Lower Kootenay tribe who lived in teepees on the beach while their men went hunting (Procter-Harrop Historical Book Committee 1988:390).

[61] Some Lower Kutenai Natives from the Bonner's Ferry, Idaho area were identified camped in the vicinity of Five Mile Point, for fishing purposes, in late April of 1903:

> A band of Kootenai Indians from near Bonner's Ferry have taken up their quarters for the summer fishing near Five Mile Point [on the West Arm northeast of Nelson, at the mouth of Five Mile Creek]. Their methods of catching trout appear somewhat primitive, but are generally successful. Several sportsmen who were trying their luck on Sunday are reported to have fallen back on the Indians for assistance to fill their baskets (*Nelson Daily News* 1903a).

[62] Archaeologist H.I. Smith (c.1930) identified one camp site near Willow Point and another camp site east of Willow Point.

[63] This situation is further complicated by the fact that there is a place called "Seven Mile Point" (where Tunstall Creek enters into the south side of the West Arm) directly across the Arm from "Six Mile Creek" (Duhamel Creek). Moreover, Seven Mile Point is *not* seven miles east from Nelson — the actual distance is just over five miles, which is the same distance east from Nelson that "Six Mile Creek" is located. Alan Ramsden (1999c: pers. comm.), who has owned property at Seven Mile Point for more than 40 years, points out that archaeological indications of a Native campsite have been found just east from the Tunstall Creek mouth.

[64] As we have discussed, Teit (n.d.; 1908-1920; 1930b:210-211) stated that the boundary between the Lakes and Kutenai was anywhere from "at least as far as" Bonnington Falls, to "around Nelson or a little above," to "6 miles E. of Nelson," to "seven or eight miles east of Nelson." This last estimate was the one that was published, and it would place their easterly limit in the vicinity of Lasca Creek.

[65] We commented in our 1985 Lakes report that we did not recognize this Okanagan-Colville term (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:106), but having given it further consideration, we now believe that *"nx̣a·x̣a'tsən"* is likely derived from *x̣a7x̣á7*, an Okanagan-Colville term meaning 'important' or 'spiritually powerful' (Bouchard, Pierre and Louie 1973:26; Mattina 1987:257) and *-tsen*, an Okanagan-Colville suffix referring to 'mouth' or 'edge.' We would tentatively transcribe Ray's *"nx̣a·x̣a'tsən"* as *nx̣a7x̣á7tsen*, but we remain puzzled by the translation that Ray provides, 'cave in the rocks,' as we see nothing in the elements of this place name, itself, relating either to caves or to rocks. On the other hand, the fact that there is a small, shallow cave just downstream from and on the same side as Hoover Point, and there are some pictographs on the rock face above the cave itself (Delehanty Pearkes 2004: pers. comm.), is somewhat consistent with the above discussed information about this place name and its meaning.

[66] Alan Ramsden (1999c:pers. comm.) has pointed out that Bob Yuill used to live at "Kokanee" (now known as "Kokanee Landing") which is on the north side of the West Arm, not far east from the mouth of Kokanee Creek. Another source (*Nelson Daily News* 1934) has indicated that Yuill also had a cabin at Lockhart Beach, located at the mouth of Lockhart Creek which is about halfway down the east side of Kootenay Lake

[67] Two other "camp sites" where artifacts were found were inventoried across from Nelson. One was said to be at "Ross' Point" (H.Smith c.1930). Alan Ramsden (1999c:pers. comm.) believes that the name "Ross' Point" referred to the distinctive point of land on the north side of the West Arm, about 2 Km (1.3 miles) west from Hoover Point, and about .8 Km (.5 miles) east from the entrance to

Grohman Narrows. The other camp site was identified only as "north side West Arm Camp Site near Nelson" (H.Smith c.1930).

[68] An entirely different Kutenai name for Nelson appears in Cheryl Coull's travel guide. This term is transcribed in Coull's publication as "*?aktupis*" and translated as 'gills' (Coull 1996:104). We do not know the relationship between this term, "*?aktupis*" and the word "*a_a'ko"atse'qa*" which Chamberlain provided as the Kutenai word for 'gills (of fish)' (Boas and Chamberlain 1918:363). As far as we know, Coull's publication is the only source where "*?aktupis*" is given as the name for Nelson.

[69] Ethnohistoric records documenting the use of Nelson by Natives before the construction of the city are rare, although one such reference was provided by J.W. Martin, who led the work party of Lakes Indians blazing a trail through this region in the mid-1860s. Martin (1920) indicated that the work party returned to Fort Colville through the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, "camping on the way down where Nelson now stands."

[70] This appears to be the same trail G.M. Sproat described in 1897, as it had existed in 1883. Sproat commented that on the route up the Kootenay River and the West Arm that:

> the country was for general travel, practically, but not absolutely impassable. There was of course the beaten Indian trail in the pass through which in 1883 Mr. Lonton and after him Mr. Dole went, each with a canoe and a single attendant (*Nelson Daily Miner* 1897).

[71] A June 10th, 1903 newspaper article in Nelson reported that "Two Indians came in yesterday from the Slocan country having with them a couple of ponies loaded with bear skins" but the article provided no information about these Natives' ethnicity (*Nelson Daily News* 1903b).

[72] It is generally recognized that in earlier times, before dams were built and reclamation projects were undertaken, Grohman Narrows was the area where the West Arm of Kootenay Lake ended and the Kootenay River began (Lamb 2000:pers.comm.).

[73] Smith's unpublished field notes (H.Smith c.1930) indicate that he interviewed some of these local collectors, corresponded with them, and generally attempted to verify their information, although the notes are not full and systematic enough to determine whether or not he was able to verify all of the data from this area.

[74] Smith was not consistent in his ethnographic identification of the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. In one section of his fieldnotes, Smith expressed the opinion that the whole region as far west as the Arrow Lakes had been Kutenai. He wrote that "the Kootenai Indians inhabited that portion of Southern British Columbia from the Crow's Nest Pass to the Arrow Lakes" (H.Smith c.1930). Elsewhere in his notes, Smith noted that the area between Taghum and Bonnington Falls was the "western extremity" of Kutenai territory " which some authorities claim ended at the rapids just where the West Arm of Kootenay Lake ends and the river begins ." He noted further that "from this point down past the pool below Bonnington Falls was evidently disputed" (H.Smith c.1930) (see also the discussion that follows).

[75] Robb Sutherland, an avid local artifact collector, reported that archaeological sites extended even further to the west. He told Smith in 1916 that:

> as a matter of fact on both sides of the West Arm of Kootenay Lake and of the Kootenay River from Procter to Castlegar, the greatest distance between camp grounds is scarcely more than 300 yards, and some are much closer, and I am satisfied that there are many on the higher ground close to the river and lake that I have not yet discovered (Sutherland 1916, in, H.Smith c.1930).

[76] Smith also recorded the house site depressions at Grohman Creek separately from the camp site on Grohman Creek (H.Smith c.1930) and noted that, for recovering artifacts, "one of the most productive of the village sites was

that at Grohman Creek, two miles below Nelson, many fine specimens being secured here" Apparently Robb Sutherland told Harlan Smith that during his extensive collecting in the Kootenay region, he had seen the sites of semi-subterranean houses at only two places — Grohman Creek, and Deer Park (on the east side of Lower Arrow Lake; see Section 3.2 of the present report) (H.Smith c.1930).

[77] One camp site was identified as being one mile east of Granite, and on the north side of the West Arm (H.Smith c.1930). As Granite is about 1.5 miles (approximately 2.5 Km) west from Grohman Creek, this site would have been not far west from Grohman Creek. Another camp site was identified as being "east of Granite, south side," and another was recorded at "Taghum or William Siding" which is on the north side of the West Arm, at the mouth of Sproule Creek and not far west from Granite (H.Smith c.1930).[Alan Ramsden (1999a:pers.comm.) also indicated that the mouth of Sproule Creek was a place where many artifacts were found]. Another camp site in Smith's (c.1930) inventory was identified as being "west of Granite, north side," a location which would also be in the vicinity of Taghum. But as the two Taghum area camp sites were identified separately, they are unlikely to have been the same place.

[78] Farwell had come to Nelson in the 1880s. He wrote a "Report on Kootenay Indians" in 1883 (Farwell 1884).

[79] Dr. James Hector, a member of Palliser's expedition, noted in October 1859 that there are no salmon "in the Kootanie River, as they cannot pass the great falls that occur close to where it joins the Columbia" (Hector, in Spry 1968:460-461). There can be little doubt that Hector was referring to Bonnington Falls, even though his statement about these Falls' proximity to the Columbia River is misleading.

[80] Our Lakes consultants, as well as other sources, have provided this term, *snk'ewíltn*, but not in association with Bonnington Falls. Rather, they identified *snk'ewíltn* as one of several place names associated with the former Lakes village site at Northport, located along the Columbia River in Washington State, about 11 miles (18 Km) south of the international border (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:409-412).

[81] Teit did, however, provide a place name for Nelson, as well as a name for what he termed "Kootenay River below Lake," and stated that his Lakes consultants "don't know of any name for part of Kootenay Lake from outlet to where Lake runs north and south" (Teit n.d.).

[82] Possibly this is the same general area that a local resident, Mr. E. Van Dulken referred to in a December 1950 letter that he wrote to Mr. Ross Fleming, Chairman of the Kootenay Historical Society. Van Dulken referred to "a high bench above Bonnington" where numerous artifacts had been found and where there was a camp site and a cemetery. Another cemetery and area where artifacts were obtained was identified by Van Dulken east from Bonnington Falls, "above Corra Linn & east of Falls Cr." (Van Dulken 1950).

[83] Smith also reported what he believed to be evidence of a "war camp" — a natural fortification accompanied by a "picture stone, descriptive of a battle fought between two war parties." He identified the location as:

> ...a bench about a mile from the [Slocan] Pool and 200 feet above the water. This bench was evidently a war camp, being admirable [sic] suited for the purpose, located on a narrow tongue of land running to a point; with steep slopes all round, except at one end, forming a natural defense (H.Smith c.1930).

[84] An ethnohistoric account of the mid-1860s referred to non-Natives passing through the area but contained no observations of Indian people here. James Turnbull and Dick Fry in mid-August 1864 ascended the Kootenay River in two bark canoes. While Turnbull (1866:24) detailed the portages along the route, recorded that he camped at "the foot of the first falls," and noted that it took five days to pass all the rapids in this rough and dangerous section of the river, he made no mention of any Native people encountered at the falls, or anywhere else in this portion of his journey.

[85] Moreover, the battle that took place over the Slocan River mouth fishery, located not far downriver from Bonnington Falls, was between the Lakes and the Kutenai, and not between the Shuswap and the Kutenai.

[86] We are aware of no independent ethnohistoric or ethnographic confirmation of this "burial place." However, an 1899 newspaper article referred to a "battle" said to have occurred at "Ward's Crossing" here. The author of this article referred to "Colville" (i.e. Lakes) Indians having a "big fight with the white men" at Ward's Crossing in 1888 although apparently no lives were lost (*Nelson Daily Miner* 1899b).

[87] This pictograph site has recently been recorded as part of Columbia Power Corporation's archaeological overview associated with the Brilliant Expansion Project (Handly, Lackowicz and Mealing 1999:45,84).

[88] Peter Popoff's comment about the existence of this pictograph was made independently of the above-cited archaeological overview study.

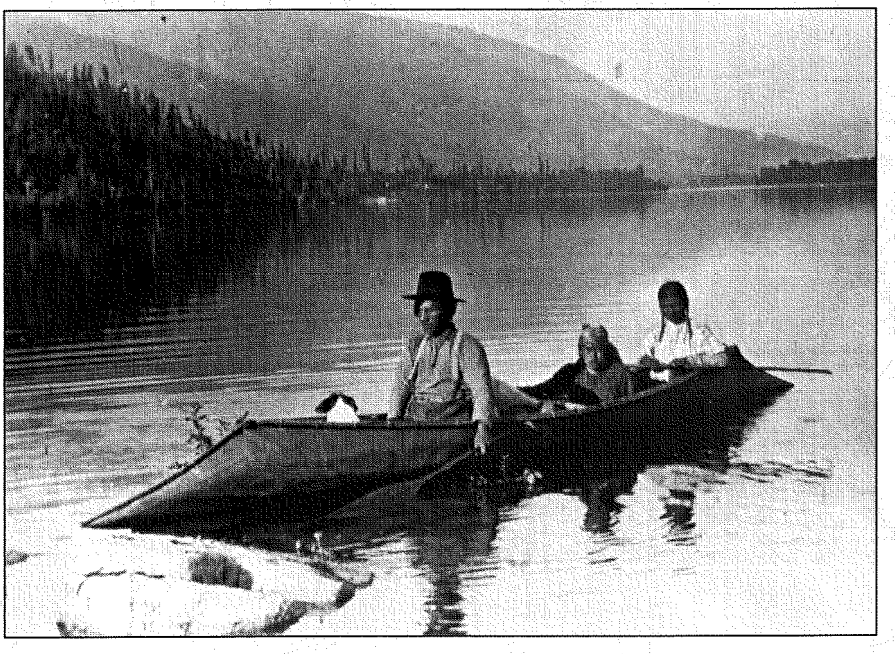
[89] Mr. Alexander does not provide the ethnic identification of the Native people he is referring to.

[90] Working with Martin Louie in August 1976, we used tape recordings of bird sounds and bird identification books to identify the bird known to the Okanagan-Colville as *spwalʔkn*, as the pileated woodpecker (*Dryocopus pileatus*). We subsequently confirmed this identification with the late Selina Timoyakin of Penticton (who we recall used to tell us a legend in which *spwalʔkn* was a character), and the late Harry Robinson of Keremeos, who pointed out that a man from the Lower Similkameen Reserve at Chopaka who was an Indian doctor, used to have *spwalʔkn* as his power.

[91] Akrigg and Akrigg (1997:132) point out that there is an alternative explanation of "Kaslo;" they note that an early mayor of Kaslo said the name is an anglicization of "Kasleau," referring to John Kasleau, an early prospector in this area. This same information was noted in Cottingham (1947:197) who cited an October 1933 Spokane, Washington radio station broadcast by David P. Kane of Kaslo and H.H. Currie of the *Nelson Daily News* in which it was stated that Kaslo received its name from "John Kasleau who came in the eighties [1880s] with a Hudson's Bay party, to secure lead bullets from the outcrop at the Bluebell site" (see also the discussion of Bluebell Mountain in the present report).

[92] Smith's (c.1930) fieldnotes do not identify this mountain's exact location.

AREA D: DUNCAN / LARDEAU



7.0 AREA D: DUNCAN / LARDEAU

This region of the overall study area extends north and northwest from the northern end of Kootenay Lake to include the Duncan River and what is now called Duncan Lake (created by the Duncan Dam), as well as the Lardeau River and Trout Lake (see Maps 2 and 3).

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The region north and northwest of Kootenay Lake is drained by the Duncan and Lardeau Rivers. From the north, the Duncan River (much of which has been transformed into Duncan Lake by the Duncan Dam) flows into the northern end of Kootenay Lake. From the northwest, the Lardeau River drains Trout Lake and flows into the Duncan River about 8 Km (5 miles) north from the head end of Kootenay Lake. Trout Lake extends almost as far northwest as the Northeast Arm of Upper Arrow Lake. The terrain surrounding these lakes and river valleys is mountainous and steep.

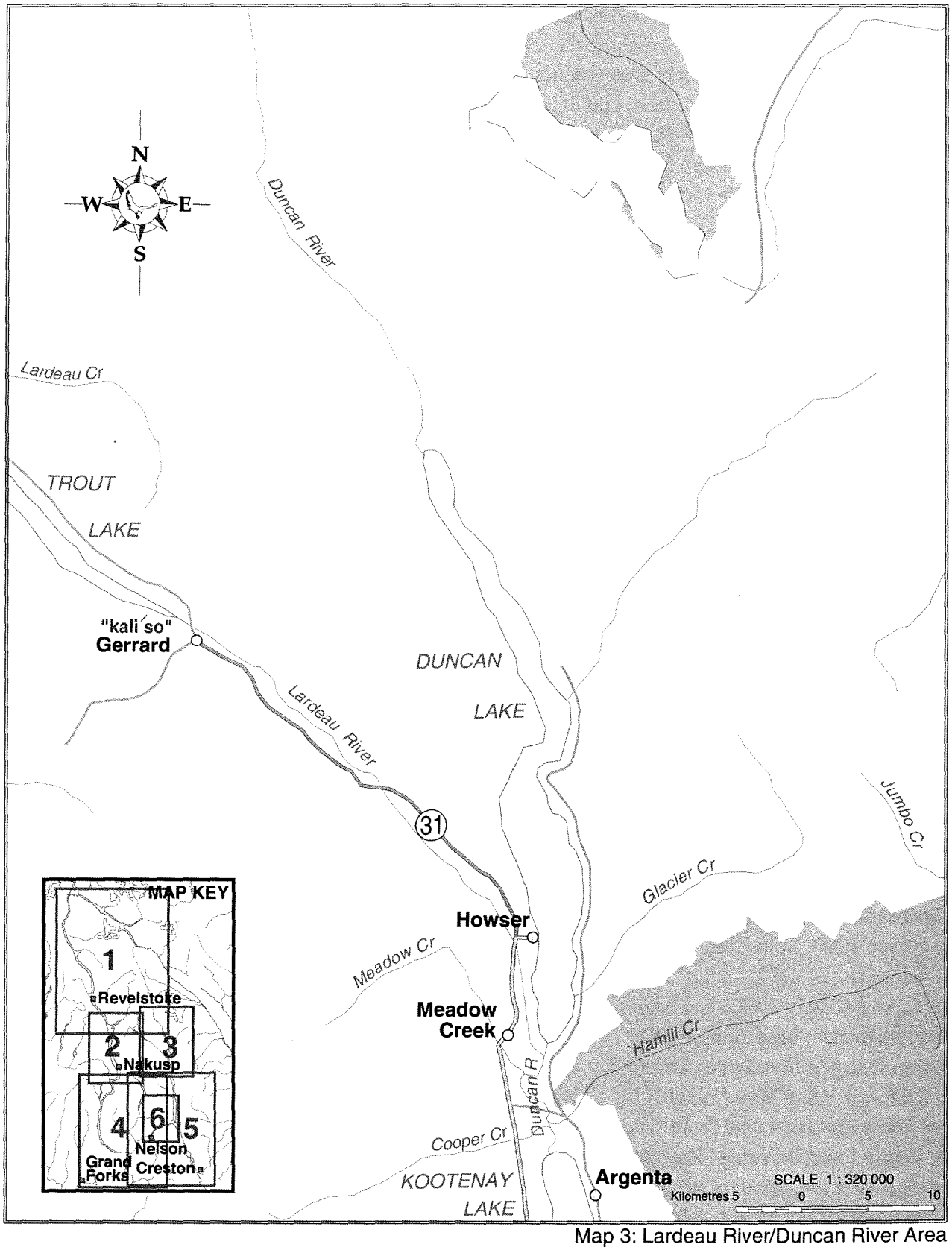
It was not until the early 1890s that non-Natives, attracted by mineral discoveries, began to take a serious interest in the remote Lardeau and Duncan River valleys (Chapman 1981:iii,2-4). Thus very little data has been recorded ethnohistorically about Native land use in this region before 1900. Somewhat more information about Native use of the Lardeau/Duncan region beginning in the early 1900s has been recorded by one local historian (Alexander 1998).

Lakes ethnographers James Teit (n.d.; 1930b:210) and Verne Ray (1936b:114, 126) independently recorded that Trout Lake was clearly within Lakes territory. Ray recorded Lakes place names and site-use data at both ends of Trout Lake, and concluded that the Lakes boundary in this area extended to the west side of what is now Duncan Lake, and to the west side of Duncan River south of Duncan Lake (Ray 1936b:114). Although Teit (n.d.) indicated that Trout Lake was within Lakes territory, he noted that the Kutenai "went north as far as little ways up Lardeau River not half way to Trout Lake." Thus in our 1985 Lakes report (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:22a) we placed the boundary in this area along the Lardeau, thereby placing the upper Lardeau River within Lakes territory, and the lower Lardeau, and all of Duncan River (and Duncan Lake), within Kutenai territory. Having given this further consideration, we would still place this Lakes-Kutenai boundary in the same place, approximately midway up the Lardeau.[1] As we stated in 1985, we have found no indication that any other group besides the Lakes people utilized Trout Lake (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:23).

Lakes people came to the Trout Lake area both for hunting and fishing. Trout Lake's value as a trout fishery was recorded ethnohistorically by James Turnbull. Travelling with his Lakes Indian guides along the shores of Trout Lake in September of 1865, Turnbull noted that it "abounds in splendid trout" (Moberly 1866:30).[2] Lakes people were recorded as being at Trout Lake in April 1895, at the time of the shooting of the Lakes man, Cultus Jim, by Sam Hill at Galena Bay. In an account given to the *Kootenay Mail*, Hill stated that he had immediately left the area after the shooting, fearing for his life, because:

> Indian runners were sent to Trout Lake, where several of the same tribe were, to let them know what had happened and they were heard to say that if I was not hung they would shoot me on sight (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

Since Cultus Jim was a Lakes man, and the Native



Map 3: Lardeau River/Duncan River Area

people at Trout Lake were of the "same tribe," they would also have been Lakes Indians (see also Section 3.2 of the present report).

Verne Ray was told in the early 1930s by his Lakes consultant that a Lakes camp for fishing and caribou hunting was located at the south end of Trout Lake, at Gerrard. Ray was also told that drying racks for fish were erected there, and that people sometimes remained there for several weeks (Ray 1936b:126).

A trail connected the Northeast Arm of Upper Arrow Lake with the upper end of Trout Lake. The trail was described on two occasions in the 1860s, by James Turnbull (Moberly 1866:30) and James Bissett (1868), and was referred to as a portage by Ray's (1936b:126) Lakes consultant. This trail later became a wagon road (Chapman 1981:6; Alexander 1998:[map 2]).

While it was noted in 1868 that the Lakes people were in the habit of descending the Lardeau River (Bissett 1868), their actual use of the Lardeau/Duncan area was not recorded. In August of 1868, Hudson's Bay Company Trader James Bissett noted in his diary the following information from his Lakes Indian guides which attested to their familiarity with the Trout Lake and Lardeau areas. Bissett stated:

> My indians describe the route from the NE Arm of the Upper Arrow Lake as follows: A good Indian trail from Arrow Lake to Trout Lake — no mountains — snow disappears there same date in spring as at Colville — good grass for horses — the distance is travelled by them in one day. Trout Lake they traverse by canoe; and excepting at the highest stages of water, they descend the small river [the Lardeau] which flows therefrom into the north end of Kootenay Lake (Bissett 1868).

Likely the trail to which Bissett referred followed along Beaton Creek, then past Armstrong and Staubert Lakes and along Wilkie Creek (which drains into Trout Lake) to the northwestern end of Trout Lake, which is approximately the same route followed by Highway 31 today.

Lower Kutenai use of the Duncan River/ Lardeau River region has been documented in a recent local history by J.W.E. Alexander, a pioneer resident of this area (see Section 7.2 that follows). Mr. Alexander recalls that the area where Meadow Creek enters the west side of the Duncan River (below the Lardeau River/Duncan River confluence) was a favourite fishing ground where "the Kootenay Indians" had caught and smoked kokanee for many years (Alexander 1998:124), and notes that many Native artifacts used to be found in this area (Alexander 1998:86). Mr. Alexander also refers to the "Kinpasket Trail" formerly used by Natives which connected the Windermere Valley with the Lardeau-Duncan Valley through Toby Creek, by way of either Hamill Creek, or Glacier Creek and Jumbo Creek (Alexander 1998:127). Other information provided by Mr. Alexander concerning Natives in this area includes his description of the following incident said to have occurred in 1889:

> In 1889, Andrew Jardine, Jack Allen and Lardo Jack McDonald came up the Kootenay Lake by row boat. They headed up the Duncan River as far as Howser Creek in the Upper Duncan Valley. After prospecting in that area for several days they started back to the Kootenay Lake. Near the mouth of the river was a big log jam. While passing this jam, they saw an old Indian sitting huddled up on the log jam. He had no food so the men gave him some of the grub they had left as

he was starving. They continued on down the lake.

There was a bad storm on the lake so it was two days before they rowed to Ainsworth Hot Springs where they notified the authorities about the Indian so he could be returned to the tribe [Lower Kutenai] at Creston . . . (Alexander 1998:87).

PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE DUNCAN / LARDEAU REGION

The following discussion begins in the area between Beaton and Trout Lake, then proceeds down the Lardeau River to the Meadow Creek and Duncan River areas (see Maps 2 and 3).

Armstrong Lake

This small lake, which is drained into the Northeast Arm of Arrow Lake by Beaton Creek, is located about 3.5 miles (5.5 Km) southeast from the end of the Northeast Arm. James Turnbull, who was accompanied by Lakes Indian guides, in September 1865 used the Native name "*kashesilwha*" to identify Armstrong Lake. Clearly "*kashesilwha*" is an Okanagan-Colville term that is derived from the word *sílxwa7,* meaning 'big.' Turnbull travelled from the Northeast Arm of Upper Arrow Lake through to Trout Lake and down the Lardeau for a distance of about eight miles beyond Trout Lake (Moberly 1866:29-30).[3]

Upper End of Trout Lake

Lakes place names have been recorded for two sites on Trout Lake, but no name has been recorded for the entire lake (we are not aware of any Kutenai place name for Trout Lake or anywhere on it having been recorded).

In September 1865, James Turnbull and his Lakes guides traversed the valley between Beaton and Trout Lake, following along the north side of Beaton Creek and Armstrong and Staubert Lakes. Turnbull commented that Trout Lake "abounds in splendid trout." Turnbull also noted that the Lakes people accompanying him stopped near the northwest end of the lake to try and find a canoe cached there (which appears to corroborate Bissett's 1868 statement "Trout Lake they traverse by canoe"). When his Lakes guides could not find the cached canoe, Turnbull and his party continued along the north shore of Trout Lake by foot, and then down the Lardeau for about eight miles. Here Turnbull turned back because of a dispute with the Natives accompanying him (Moberly 1866).

The place name referring to the upper end of Trout Lake that was recorded by Ray (1936b:126) as "*sɪnpətɬ'me·ɬp*" and translated as 'upper end of lake'; is what we would transcribe as *snp'etl'míp.* It is an Okanagan-Colville term derived from *p'utl'*, meaning 'come to an end; completed' and refers to the upper end of Trout Lake. Ray (1936:126) described "*sɪnpətɬ'me·ɬp*" as a Lakes encampment at the site of Trout Lake City, at the northwesterly end of Trout Lake, and noted that "from here a portage was usually made to the end of Upper Arrow Lake" [a distance of about 10.5 miles (approximately 17 Km)].

Lower End of Trout Lake

Two variants of what is obviously the same place name have been recorded — "*kali'so*" (Teit 1930b:210) and "*sia'uks qa·li'su*" (Ray 1936b:126). It seems clear that Ray elicited this term independently from Teit. The portion of Ray's transcription that is written as "*sia'uks*" is recognizable to us as the prefix which we transcribe as *i7a7ks-* and which means 'place of '

in the Okanagan-Colville language. We do not know what Okanagan-Colville term Teit and Ray were transcribing however, even though Ray (1936b:126) provided the translation 'where the water flows outward.' While the "*sia´uks*" portion of Ray's transcription could be translated as 'where,' we do not recognize the rest of the term, "*qa·li´su*" (transcribed by Teit as "*kali´so*").

Teit (1930b:210) provided very little information about "*kali´so*" other than saying it was "on Trout Lake" and including it in a list of "old villages and camps" of the Lakes Indians. However, additional information about this place and its use was recorded by Ray, who indicated that the translation of the term, 'where the water flows outward,' "probably referred to the drainage of Trout Lake into Kootenay Lake." Ray gave a more precise identification of its location as well, reporting that it was on the later settlement of Gerrard, at the southeastern end of Trout Lake, where it is drained by the Lardeau River. Ray also provided information about the traditional use of this place by the Lakes. He indicated that it was a camp for caribou hunting and fishing, that drying racks for fish were erected here, and that travellers sometimes remained here for several weeks (Ray 1936:126).[4]

As we have discussed, Lakes people were identified at Trout Lake in April 1895, at the time of the shooting of the Lakes man, Cultus Jim, at Galena Bay (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a).

Mouth of Meadow Creek

The mouth of Meadow Creek, which enters the west side of the Duncan River below the Lardeau River/Duncan River confluence, was an important fishing area for the Lower Kutenai, according to Mr. J.W.E. Alexander, a pioneer resident of this area:

> The Indians came each August for generations back before the white men came to the spawning grounds of the Kokanee redfish. They came from areas far south and gathered at the mouth of Meadow Creek. There they would set up their teepees and also make fish drying racks for smoking red fish. The creek would be flowing red with spawning fish in their yearly run.
>
> Six miles from the head of the lake was a place in the river [Duncan River] called the "Eddy" [at the mouth of Meadow Creek].This was the best fishing hole in the Lardeau Valley . . .Here is where the big ones hid in this eddy at the mouth of Meadow Creek. Beautiful huge dolly varden trout were caught here.
>
> After the railway was built, the Indians would come with their families by canoe to Mosquito Landing at the head of the lake [Kootenay Lake]. Here they put the women and children out and would walk to the "Eddy" from there...
>
> When they all gathered at the fishing grounds and set up camp, they would catch their winter supply of fish to dry or smoke for their winter food...
>
> The Indians would collect spawn from the red-fish they caught, dry it in the sun until it was dry enough to stay on a fish hook better. Sometimes they put some sugar on the spawn to toughen it more. Two or three canoes would be anchored in the side channel by the creek mouth. A young woman in each

canoe would be fishing. When one caught a fish she would very quietly play the fish, put it in the canoe and start over, continuing to bring in big fish ...I would fish there too...

The Indians used willows to make the racks on which they dried the filleted fish. They also used willow frames for their tents, woven and tied together then covered with whatever waterproof material they had.

I remember one Sunday when the Alexander Family [Lower Kutenai, from Creston] walked to Meadow Creek ... I was seven or eight at the time [early 1920s]... (Alexander 1998:87-88).

Mr. Alexander recalls that a Native man named Frank Joseph had a cabin on the bank of the Duncan River, between Meadow Creek and Cooper Creek, on the south end of a large island that became known locally as "Frank's Island" (see Figure 25). Alexander remembers Frank Joseph well, and states that he was one of the last Natives to live in the Duncan/Lardeau area. He recalls Frank Joseph living much of the time in this cabin, and returning to Burton in the summer "to spend some time with his relatives there" (see also Section 3.2 of the present report). In Alexander's view, Frank Joseph "lived much like a white man," although he did have a hand-made spear of wood, spruce pitch and string to spear fish and a sturgeon-nosed canoe that he built (as well as a canoe that was factory built). He trapped and fished along the river near his cabin, until he died (Alexander 1998:88-90).[5]

Figure 25. J.W.E. Alexander's sketch of Frank Joseph's cabin, on "Frank's Island" in the Duncan River, between Meadow Creek and Cooper Creek. Page 89, In., Lardeau Duncan Memories, published by Ken E. Alexander, Creston, B.C. 1998.

SECTION 7.0 ENDNOTES

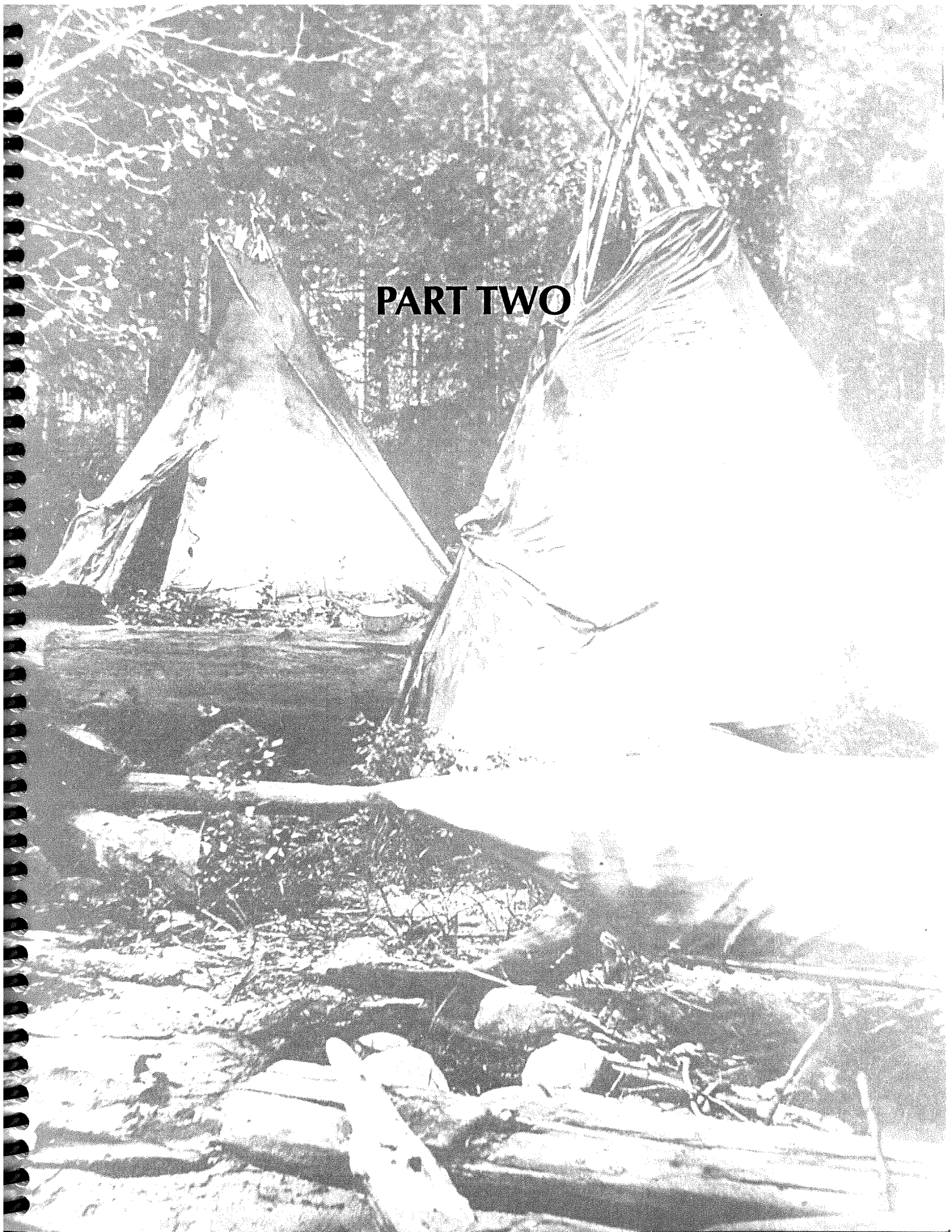
[1] Notwithstanding, the map of Lakes territory which appears in our Smithsonian article on the Northern Okanagan, Lakes and Colville includes the northern end of Trout Lake in Lakes territory, while placing the southern end of Trout Lake outside Lakes territory (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:240). This does not however reflect a change in our view of the Lakes boundary as illustrated in our 1985 Lakes report which includes *all* of Trout Lake and the approximate upper half of the Lardeau River within Lakes territory (Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a:22a). Rather, this reflects the final conclusions of the editors of the Plateau Volume in which our article appears. In August 1997, in the semi-final draft of this article, we indicated the same Lakes boundary identified in our 1985 report, but we were not given the opportunity to make a final check of the article before it was published. Consequently the map in the published article (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:240) indicates only the northwestern two-thirds of Trout Lake in Lakes territory, while the map of Kutenai territory in the same Volume takes in all of Trout Lake and indicates the Kutenai-Lakes boundary almost as far northwest as Beaton (Brunton 1998:223; see also Figure 7).On the other hand, Allan Smith, after carefully reviewing the available maps of Kutenai territory, concluded that Trout Lake was part of Lakes territory and placed the Kutenai-Lakes boundary about one third of the distance up the Lardeau River from its mouth (A.Smith 1984:24-25; see also Figure 6).

[2] Edgar Dewdney reported to the Colonial Secretary on June 2nd, 1865, that an old Indian man told him that "both Columbia River [Lakes] & Koutenais" Natives were then camped at the south end of Kootenay Lake and also "two days travel up the stream that runs in at the Northern end of Lake" (Dewdney 1865b) — we cannot state with certainty if the camping area referred to was on the Duncan River, or the Lardeau.

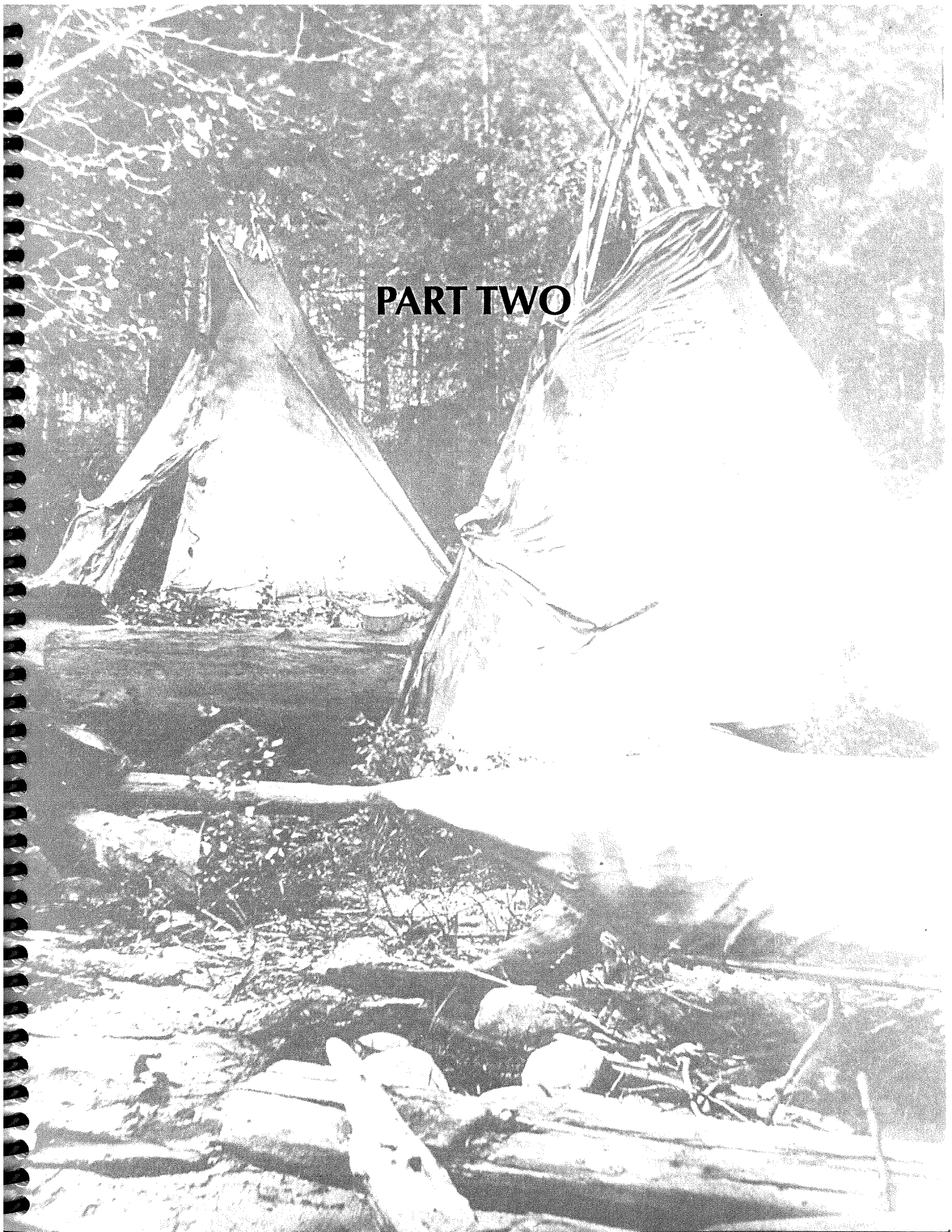
[3] As we discuss in Section 3.2 of the present report, James Turnbull used the term "*Ill-com-opalux*" (*nk'mápeleks*, spelled "*Incumappleux*" on the map accompanying this publication) to refer to the valley extending to the southeast between Beaton and Trout Lake (Moberly 1866:29-30).

[4] It appears that by the early 1900s, Lakes people were no longer using this area — Fred Lade, an early pioneer in the area, recalled with reference to the vicinity where the Lardeau River drains Trout Lake, that during the period between about 1900 and 1918, "there were no Indians in there" (Lade 1965). Mr. Lade's comments notwithstanding, Lakes people *were* identified at Trout Lake in April 1895 (*Kootenay Mail* 1895a). Very recently, representatives of the "Sinixt" (Lakes) people on May 13th, 2000 sponsored an "honouring the fish" ceremony at the outlet of Trout Lake (*Valley Voice* 2000; *Nelson Daily News* 2000).

[5] There are conflicting views as to the ethnic affiliation of Frank Joseph, as we have discussed in Section 3.2 of the present report. Although Mr. Alexander (1998:89) is of the opinion that Frank Joseph died in 1933, the actual date of his death was September 7th, 1932 (Ryckman 1932b).

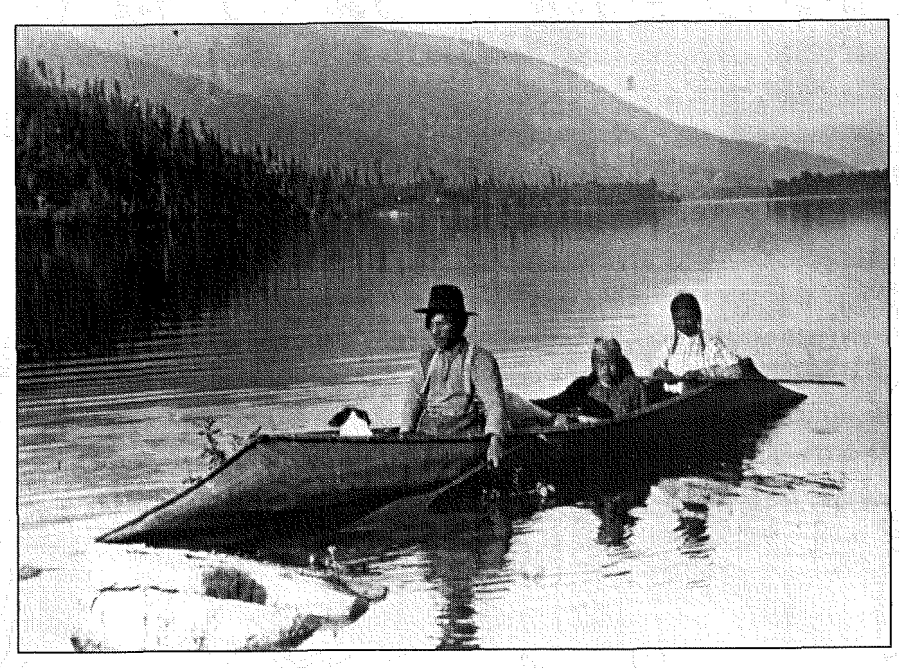


PART TWO



PART TWO

ETHNOGRAPHIC SUMMARIES



8.0 ETHNOGRAPHIC SUMMARIES

Section 8 presents brief ethnographic summaries of those aspects of aboriginal culture that are important for the consideration of traditional land use in the present study region. The Section begins with a discussion of the "sturgeon-nosed" canoe for which this entire region was noted (Section 8.1), which is followed by a discussion of the use of horses (Section 8.2). Then follows the ethnographic summary for each tribal group: the Lakes (*sngaytskstx*), Section 8.3; the Kutenai, Section 8.4; and the Kalispel, Section 8.5. Each of these summaries includes information on the following: subsistence practices; dwellings; social and political organization; demography; and religion. Some cultural features of the Lakes (*sngaytskstx*) are common to all the Okanagan-Colville groups who are members of the present Okanagan Nation Alliance, although those highlighted in the following discussion relate particularly to the Lakes. For cultural summaries of other Okanagan-Colville groups see Kennedy and Bouchard (1998) and Miller (1998).

A separate discussion of Shuswap practices has not been included here in Section 8, although we have included in Part One of this report the available references to Shuswap use of the Arrow Lakes. The primary ethnographic source on the Shuswap's use of the Arrow Lakes, James Teit, concluded after speaking with both Shuswap and Lakes people, that the Shuswap occasionally visited the Arrow Lakes to get resources, although their use of the area was seasonal, and they were consciously visiting Lakes territory when they went here. Intermarriage between the two groups has been reported. For a summary of Shuswap subsistence practices, dwellings, social and political organization, demography, and religion, the reader is advised to consult the work of Teit (n.d.; 1907-1910; 1908-1920; 1909; 1910; 1910-1913; 1914;1930b). A summary of these Shuswap ethnographic data appears in Boelscher-Ignace (1998).

8.1 USE OF "STURGEON-NOSED" CANOES

This region of the Columbia Basin, with its rugged land mass broken by marine waterways, was country made for the canoe, and not the horse. The canoe was thus the principal traditional means of transportation. The *type* of canoe used in this region was also distinct and as it is common to all of the aboriginal people whose traditional land use is described in this report, is thus presented here instead of in the individual summaries.

The primary type of canoe employed was a small pine canoe, known to have been built and used only by several Interior Salish peoples, which included the Lakes, some Shuswap groups, the Kalispel, and the Lower Kutenai. The comparative use of pointed bark canoes among these peoples and the Amur of Siberia was the focus of an article by Otis T. Mason (1901). On the Plateau, this canoe has become known as the "sturgeon-nosed" canoe on account of its distinctive pointed ends, which resembled the nose of a sturgeon, and which rested flat on the water's surface (see Figure 26). The name for this canoe in the Okanagan-Colville language is *tl'iyí7*, which means 'bark canoe.' Its importance to the Lakes is suggested by the fact that the name for the white pine (*Pinus monticola*), which grows in the Arrow Lakes and Kootenay areas, and whose bark was used to make these canoes, is actually derived from the word for the canoe itself. The Okanagan-Colville name for this tree is *tl'i7álekw*, which literally means 'bark canoe wood' (Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980:29).

Several early explorers and traders described this canoe, commenting on both the uniqueness and utility of its construction. Alexander Ross provided one of the first such descriptions, in 1825:

> At the water's edge we saw and examined a birch canoe of rather singular construction, such as I had never seen in any other part of the country, but used by the Natives here; for I saw several of the same make when I passed this place two years ago. Both stem and stern. . . lie flat on the surface of the water, and terminate in a point resembling a sturgeon's snout (Ross 1855:169-170).

A second description from 1825 has also been recorded. The trader Samuel Black, intrigued with the design of this canoe, commented in his diary that:

> These canoes round bottomed and pointed prows inclining the point to the surface of the water and look in the water like an animal or moose without horns. . .pointed at both ends like a short Proboscus. . . (Black 1823-1825).

Figure 26. Sturgeon-nosed canoe on the Arrow Lakes. Arrow Lakes Historical Society Archives, Nakusp, B.C.

Further details of the canoe's construction were recorded in 1827 by the botanist David Douglas. He described the bark from which the body was made as "*Pinus canadensis*," a reference to the species now known as the white pine (*Pinus monticola*). He also indicated that this bark was sewn with the roots of "*Thuya*" (*Thuja plicata*), the western red cedar, and that the seams were gummed with pine resin. Douglas also commented on the lightness of the design, indicating that a canoe large enough to carry six people and their provisions was light enough to be carried on their shoulders (Wilks 1959:250).

In October 1847, the artist Paul Kane described and sketched the canoes of the "Indian chief of the lakes" and his family, just north of the Arrow Lakes. He recorded that:

> The chief, with wife and daughter, accompanied us in their canoe, which they paddled with great dexterity, from ten to fifteen miles. They make their canoes of pine bark, being the only Indians who use this material for the purpose; their form is also peculiar and very beautiful. These canoes run the rapids with more safety for their size, than any other shape (Harper 1971:127).

The canoes sketched by Kane had two paddlers (Harper 1971:222: Fig. 120).

In 1859, Dr. James Hector provided a detailed description of these canoes, being used by a group of Lower Kutenai he encountered. He described the canoes as being "of a most singular shape" and said that:

> they are made of a large sheet of the bark from a particular kind of spruce-fir, which is sewn up at both ends, but sloping outwards at each end, so as to form a conical point. The length of the bottom is therefore, about 10 feet, while the space within the gunwales is only about seven feet. They are sewn and gummed together, and have light gunwales and ribs of split willow. They carry a fair load for their size, and are most easily paddled by one person, who, sitting at the extreme end, sinks one conical point that acts as a tail, while the other is canted out of the water. The round smooth surface then presents the smallest possible resistance to the water. The point, being strongly bound with wattle, will stand a severe blow, and therefore acts like a beak to ward off the rocks in running rapids. From their shape, they are, of course, more easily upset than any other kind of canoe; but in skilful hands are well adapted to the work (Hector, in Spry 1968:465-466).

These nimble canoes were also effective in ascending rapids as well. In 1866, James Turnbull, who was ascending the Kootenay River rapids past its mouth in a bark canoe, noted that he "met with a party of prospectors who were endeavouring to get up the river; they have been 3 weeks getting so far; had they bark canoes they would have made the trip in 5 days" (Turnbull 1866:24).

Information about how the Lakes people traditionally constructed these sturgeon-nosed canoes has been recorded, particularly by Elmendorf (1935-36:I:8-8a), and by Arrow Lakes pioneer C.J.C. Slade (1970) who observed Arrow Lakes Band member Louis Joseph making a canoe in 1911 and made notes about how the canoe was constructed:

> The rough part of the bark was shaved

> off with a sharp axe or drawknife. The bark was then split endwise, carefully peeled off, and turned inside out. It was oiled with deer tallow to prevent it from cracking in drying. The ends were folded together and the seams sewn with the inner bark of cedar. The seams were sealed with a mixture of deer tallow and jack-pine pitch. Gunwales and thwarts were put in, and laced into place with cedar bark. I cannot remember if there were any ribs, but thin strips of split cedar were put in the bottom to act as floor boards (Slade 1970).

Elmendorf (1935-1936:I:8-8a) also recorded additional details of traditional canoe construction — he reported that the outside of the canoe was marked on the ground with stakes and the poles used for the gunwales were fastened to these stakes. Next, the willow ribs were fastened to the gunwales using willow bark twine. The bark was then sewn onto the outside of the ribs. An additional layer of of bark was fastened less securely onto the outer side of the craft. All seams were "glued" with warm pine pitch. On the bow end of the canoe, the bark was folded over rings of willow and extra layers, shaped into a point and sewn. The stern end was usually constructed in the same manner, although it was sometimes made square, according to Elmendorf's consultant. The flooring of the canoe as described by Elmendorf was different than the one observed by Slade. Instead of split cedar strip flooring, a frame of woven willow poles was placed in the bottom of the canoe and covered with loose grass to sit on (Elmendorf 1935-36:I:8-8a).

Both Elmendorf and Slade recorded that the bark was cut in a single sheet from a tree, which was felled in the spring when the sap was running (Elmendorf 1935-36:I:8-8a; Slade 1970).

In 1909, James Teit had a traditional canoe custom-built by the Lakes people living at the mouth of the Kootenay River, to fill an order from a Berlin museum. Teit commissioned the canoe in May 1909, after determining that the white pine bark was then in the proper condition for peeling. The canoe was ready when Teit returned in July 1909, at which time he reported that it was nineteen feet long — large enough, he stated, to accommodate two men while fishing or one man and his baggage when moving camp (Teit 1898-1910). It seems however, that even at the time Teit was commissioning this sturgeon-nosed canoe in 1909, new technology was displacing traditional technology in its manufacture. While the fact that he was still able to have a traditional canoe manufactured indicates that Lakes canoe-builders were still making them, Teit observed that in 1909 most of their canoes were covered with oiled canvas rather than bark (Teit 1930b:248).

A principal advantage of these canoes was their relative ease of repair. When a bark canoe was damaged, it could be patched with a piece of the flexible bark taken from a white pine sapling and glued in place using a mixture of pine gum and deer tallow (Slade 1970). Teit (1930b:248) reported that the patches were sewn in place and then pitched. "Culturally-modified" trees that had pieces of bark removed for this purpose could be seen at various locations around the Arrow Lakes, according to Slade (1970).

Prior to building a canoe, Lakes men held a ceremony which included dancing, fasting, and sweatbathing, the latter activity undertaken to make them more "peaceable and agreeable" and to help focus "all faculties on canoe building". Elmendorf was told that "if canoe went wrong" subsequently, this was an indication that one of the canoe builders had been guilty of incest or

other improper behaviour (Elmendorf 1935-36:I:19).

It appears that dug-out canoes existed among the Lakes, but the paucity of references suggests that they were rare, and whether or not they were traditionally built by the Lakes people themselves has not been recorded. Elmendorf (1935-36:I:8a) referred to "wooden canoes not for travelling—for transporting heavy goods—roughly made—determined by the shape of the tree," but provided no further information. However, historian David Chance (1967) provided a non-Indian's circa 1909-1910 account of a Lakes man named "Isaac" who made a dugout canoe ["Isaac" is very likely the same man identified by our Lakes consultants as "old Issac", also known as *nk̲wlu7tsín* or *spa7agmíx* (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984a:401, 412-414)]. At this time, Issac was living near the mouth of what is now known as Goodeve Creek, located on the west side of the Columbia River about 5 miles (8 km) south from the Canada/U.S. border. Chance's non-aboriginal consultant reported that:

> Isaac made a dugout out of cottonwood about 16 ft. long and 2.5 ft wide with pointed prow and stern . . . He [the local non-Native resident] implied the existence of several dugouts in this area in the early part of this century (Chance 1967:77).

Traditional paddles were commonly about 1.2 metres (4 feet) long with a long, broad blade and rounded end. A flattened knob at the top end formed the hand grip which was slightly hollowed out where the points of the fingers rested (Teit 1930b:248).

8.2 USE OF HORSES

For the Lower Kutenai and the Lakes, the canoe was the principal means of transportation. Horses appear to have been secondary in importance to both groups until late in the 19th century. The Lakes did not begin to keep horses until their demographic shift to the south. Teit recorded that:

> the Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville (Teit 1930b:249).

This is consistent with the observations of Ross Cox in the second decade of the 19th century, who remarked that the Lakes had no horses at that time (Cox 1957:265).

While the Upper Kutenai, who made much greater use of the Plains, attached great importance to horses, several ethnohistoric sources indicate that the Lower Kutenai had few or none. In December 1825, John Work noted that a party of Lower Kutenai arrived at the Flathead post on foot, because they had no horses (Elliott 1914:190-191). Work also listed the "Lower tribe or Flatbow Kootanies" among those groups which had few or no horses, and which travelled either by canoe or by land (Work 1830). Baillie-Grohman (1907:258) said that when he first came to the area in 1882, the "Flatbows on the British side possessed no horses whatever." Even when the Lower Kutenai eventually acquired horses, these were not of the quality of those possessed by the Upper Kutenai, and were of course far fewer in number. Turney-High's Kutenai consultants said that the relative horselessness of the Lower

Kutenai was a deterrent to their taking part in the buffalo hunt (Turney-High 1941:71).[1] They said that it required a "five-mile horse" to hunt buffalo successfully, meaning that the horse had to be of high enough quality to keep the rapid pace of stampeding buffalo for five miles. Only the very richest men among the Lower Kutenai had such race horses, and these were acquired only at a comparatively recent date (Turney-High 1941:36). Indeed, the Lower Kutenai told Turney-High that "they got bad automobiles almost as soon as they acquired fine horses" (Turney- High 1941:71).

The horse was more important to the Kalispel than to either the Lakes or the Lower Kutenai, although they in turn had many fewer horses than groups to their east like the Pend d'Oreille, who were closer to the plains (A.Smith 1986:238, in Thoms and Burtchard 1986). The unusually heavy snows in the Kalispel country limited the number of horses that could be kept, and ensured that the horse would not become the truly dominant element in Kalispel culture, as it was for Plains Natives (A.Smith 1986:245). Smith's Kalispel consultants emphasized that they were pre-eminently a canoe people, and were known in sign language as the "paddlers" or "river paddlers" (A.Smith 1986:248). In 1853, George Suckley observed in the Calispell Valley that "journeys are performed with horses and canoes. Many individuals of the nation prefer to use canoes entirely" (Suckley 1855:296).

Still, the horse had more impact traditionally on the Kalispel than either the Lakes or the Lower Kutenai. It altered the former patterns of the subsistence cycle, making fishing less important than formerly, and made possible travel to the Plains and participation in the buffalo hunt there (Lahren 1998:285). The Kalispel were among the first of the Salishan peoples to obtain horses. Smith's principal Kalispel consultant said that horses arrived among the Kalispel in his grandfather's time, which Smith estimated at about 1770 (A.Smith 1986:238). Teit recorded a traditional account of the first horse seen by the Lower Kalispel:

> The first horse that reached the Kalispel country was ridden by an Indian (some say a half breed) who came from the Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called other people and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some people thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity (Teit 1930b:351-352).

While the Kalispel soon made extensive use of the horse for riding and packing, all the data on their use of the Salmo and the lower part of the part of the Pend d'Oreille indicate that horses were not used there at all, as the trail was far too treacherous (A.Smith 1986:252). Nor were canoes a feasible option in this area, as the lower Pend d'Oreille was too rough. Kalispel people going to the Salmo River salmon fishery walked, and carried their equipment and catch on their backs, assisted by tump straps of skin, generally passed over their heads. No use appears to have been made of dogs for packing and hauling (Teit 1930b:352).

8.3 LAKES (SNGAYTSKSTX)

8.3.1 Subsistence: Hunting

Since meat was the principal staple in the traditional Lakes (*sngaytskstx)* diet, the skills and organization of hunting were particularly important to their society. While hunting is recorded as having taken place widely throughout *sngaytskstx* territory, their very best hunting grounds were located around the upper part of old Upper Arrow Lake, and the area to its north, around Revelstoke. Teit noted that the area above Revelstoke was used for hunting and trapping by both the *sngaytskstx* and the Shuswap (Teit 1909) (but see also Section 3.0 of the present study).

Sngaytskstx territory was recorded as being very rich in meat and fur bearing mammals during and before the mid 19th century. The Fort Colvile fur traders in the 1820s and 1830s reported that Lakes people brought in the furs and hides of caribou, mountain goat, mountain sheep, beaver, muskrat, marten, lynx, fox, fishers, and rabbits, besides bear and deer. Deer was the most important food mammal to the *sngaytskstx.* Not all such large game animals found in nearby regions were present in *sngaytskstx* territory however. Elk and moose wandered into the area, but only occasionally. And neither antelope nor buffalo were ever known to be found there. Grizzly bears were more common. Ray noted that grizzly bears were found in "the mountainous regions above the lakes" where they were hunted as game animals (Ray 1975:136)

Considerable information has been recorded about the *sngaytskstx* seasonal hunting round. Teit reported that the Okanagan-Colville had four great hunts: in spring for deer and mountain sheep; in late fall for deer, sheep, elk and bear; in midwinter for deer; and in late winter for mountain sheep (Teit 1930b:247).[2] Ethnohistoric documents record that deer was the most common large ungulate around the Arrow Lakes, where they were very plentiful in the early 19th century. They were hunted widely throughout *sngaytskstx* territory. The earliest records describe the Lakes people hunting deer in considerable numbers for food, as well as for their hides, bones, fat and horns. The largest Lakes deer hunts took place in the fall (Elmendorf 1935-1936:1:7). Both mule deer (*Oedocoileus hemionus*), and white-tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), the latter of which was found at higher elevations, were actively hunted. Hudson's Bay Company trader John Work noted in 1823 that the Lakes hunted a very tasty type of small dark grey deer that they called "Shwua," and which had donkey-like ears (Work 1823). The contemporary scientific identification of this animal is not known. Later, Work reported that both "blacktail and common long tail chiveuax [sic]" were common around the Arrow Lakes (Work 1830). Botanist David Douglas, who visited the Arrow Lakes in 1827, observed horns and skins of black tailed and "red deer" [white-tailed deer] in the Natives' possession (Wilks 1959:249).

Early 19th century observers recorded several deer hunting techniques employed by the Lakes people. Several indicated the importance of dogs in hunting. The Hudson's Bay Company's William Kittson reported in 1831 that the venison traded by Fort Colvile was of poor quality, and attributed this to the Native peoples' practice of chasing the deer with dogs (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831). In 1847, the artist Paul Kane received detailed information from "the chief of the lakes" about the importance of the dogs in deer hunting, and how they were used. Kane recorded that

> A small species of dog was tied to the bushes near his lodge, to prevent them from hunting on their own accord and driving away the deer. The chief told me that when disposed to hunt with them, he had only to find a fresh deer-

> track, set his dogs on it and lie down to sleep, as they never fail to find the deer, and turn them back to the place where they had left him lying. We saw some of these dogs, apparently on the track of some deer, full twelve or fifteen miles from the chief's lodge (Kane 1974:229).

Dogs were also sometimes used to drive the deer down to the water. Samuel Black recorded this technique in 1825, when, after he shot a deer along the shores of the Lower Arrow Lake, a Native man soon came up and claimed the deer, on the grounds that his dogs had driven the deer down to the water (Black 1823-1825).

Sometimes the deer were hunted without dogs, particularly at night. Elmendorf recorded the use of a technique in which some of the *sngaytskstx* hunters themselves would herd the deer towards other hunters, who were positioned where they could shoot the animals as they approached. Sometimes the deer were herded towards the river where men in canoes would be waiting with bows and arrows. Elmendorf (1935-1936:I:2) indicated that this type of hunting was often done around midnight. Colville elder Martin Louie told us that this technique of driving deer towards the water was called *snpelstítkwm*. He indicated that the Arrow Lakes was the only place in this region where the *sngaytskstx* could get deer this way, because the lakes were too wide for the deer to swim across and escape before they could be killed.

Ray also recorded that during the deer migration in the autumn, Lakes hunters would drive the deer into channels which would force them over bluffs, so that they would all be killed by the fall, The hunters would drive the deer down a runway and towards a bluff. The animals did not leave the runway, because a row of hunters was positioned on one side, and a "barrier" formed by stakes and bent saplings, all of which contained the hunters' scent, was positioned on the other. When the animals reached the end of the runway, the hunters closed in and drove them over the bluff (Ray 1975:137).

Ray also recorded that deer were hunted by being driven through narrow passageways where they could be shot more easily, caught in snares placed on their trails during migration, stalked in snow by hunters on snowshoes, and shot at night by hunters staked out at salt licks (Ray 1975:137, 139, 140).

Deer hunting drives required the cooperation of a large number of men under the direction of one leader, who was chosen by common consent and selected for his hunting ability. Preparation of these hunts lasted several days and included sweatbathing (to remove the hunters' scents) and the eating of certain foods barbecued by the men themselves. During this preparation the hunters remained isolated from all women (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:79).

Women accompanied the hunters on the hunt itself if the hunters were to be away for more than a few days, as often hunting trips lasted several weeks (Ray 1975:138). Temporary sweathouses would be built at each hunting camp, so that the hunters could bathe and eliminate their human scent. The hunters' clothes and hunting utensils would also be washed in a decoction of herbs (Ray 1975:138-139). Sometimes during the hunt, a freshly killed deer would have to be left momentarily while the pursuit of others continued. When this happened, the hunter would throw an article of clothing bearing his scent on it, to prevent an animal from eating the meat before the hunter had the opportunity to retrieve it (Elmendrof 1935-1936:I:43).

Caribou, like deer, were plentiful in the Arrow Lakes region and more plentiful here than in the

territory of other Okanagan-Colville speaking groups (Teit 1930b:242). Ray was told that caribou could be hunted in the "plains" around the Arrow Lakes, around the lower end of Trout Lake, and the area north of the Kootenay River and West Arm of Kootenay Lake between the Slocan River and Kootenay Lake (Ray 1936:126; 1975:136). Teit elicited information that caribou hunting grounds were situated around Nakusp, and the east side of the Lower Arrow Lake, and around Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows separating the two Arrow Lakes (Teit 1930b:209-210). According to Teit (1908-1920), Shuswap people from Spallumcheen sometimes came down the Fire Valley [Inonoaklin Creek] trail to Lower Arrow Lake where they hunted caribou in the fall, before returning home for the winter.

Even though caribou were common, the *sngaytskstx* hunted them differently than deer. Unlike deer, they were not taken in communal hunts, and individual hunters shot them with bow and arrow, or in later years, with guns. Martin Louie also emphasized that caribou were found in Arrow Lakes country. He told us that one of the ways the Lakes people hunted them was like the way they hunted deer. This was by driving them into the Arrow Lakes, where men in fast bark canoes would club or shoot them. Mr. Louie said that his grandfather had participated in these caribou hunts on the Arrow Lakes, and had told him that if the hunters were not careful the caribou would kick the canoe, and then the hunters would be swimming alongside them! David Douglas, who observed caribou meat in Lakes' camps in 1827 (and referred to the animal as "reindeer"), noted that they could easily be killed during periods of deep snow (Wilks 1959:249).

Mountain goat, and to some extent, mountain sheep, were found in the mountains surrounding the Arrow Lakes. Mountain goat were clearly very important to the Lakes people traditionally, as Elmendorf's Lakes consultant told him that the mountain goat was considered to be the Lakes' "emblem" and was used for ceremonial purposes (Elmendorf 1935-1936:II:55; 3:6). Ray recorded a camp situated somewhere on the Lower Arrow Lake that was a centre for mountain goat hunting in March and April (Ray 1975:140). Very little information has been recorded about the hunting techniques the *sngaytskstx* used to hunt either mountain goats or mountain sheep, although Ray was told that mountain sheep were taken by being driven over cliffs (Ray 1975:140). In the 1930s, a Kalispel man named Sherwood (probably Bob Sherwood) provided information on traditional goat hunting techniques utilized by the Lakes. Allan Smith recorded that:

> According to Sherwood, the Lakes pursued goats around over the cliffs with a long pole until they get them in a place from which they could not escape. They put the pole under them and pried them off the cliffs so that they would [fall and] be killed. The Lakes hunted for mountain goats considerably; they liked the meat (A.Smith 1950:240).

Ethnohistoric data also indicate that both sheep and goats were hunted for food, and for their horns and hides. When Gabriel Franchere met Native people on the shores of the Arrow Lakes in 1814, he observed women spinning blankets and capes from the wool of "mountain sheep" [goat] (Thwaites 1904:VI:349). A supply of the wool of "mouton Blanche," which was likely mountain goat, was seen by David Douglas in 1827 (Wilks 1959:251). Two years later, John Work stated that mountain goat wool was woven into "a kind of coarse blanket":

> This wool is twisted into threads with

> kind of distass [sic] and woven or rather plaited with the hand into the size required, when finished it has something the appearance of a coarse horse rug (Work 1829).

In 1909, Teit also noted that the Lakes people living at the mouth of the Kootenay River formerly made goat hair blankets on looms (Teit 1898-1910). Mary Marchand told us that the Lakes people used to hunt either mountain sheep or mountain goat to get wool to make blankets, and recalled that to the best of her knowledge Charlie Norbert was the last Lakes person to get one of these animals.

Both the black bear and the grizzly bear were hunted by the *sngaytskstx*. The black bear seems to have been more important economically, although the grizzly bear had greater ceremonial and spiritual importance. Teit recorded that bear used to be more plentiful in the territory of the Lakes than in the territory of any other Okanagan-Colville speaking group (Teit 1930b:242). Ray noted that black bears were hunted particularly in "the regions of lakes", as well as in mountain meadows where the bears fed. He said that grizzly bears were found in "the mountainous regions above the lakes" where they were hunted as game animals (Ray 1975:II:136). In 1902, Indian Agent Galbraith indicated that the aboriginal people living near Fern Creek (on what would become the Oatscott Reserve) were usually away from their homes in the summer "hunting bear in the mountains" (Galbraith 1902b). Lakes hunters also obtained bear in the vicinity of what Water Branch Records now call Balfour Creek, below the lower end of Lower Arrow Lake. Castlegar local historian Harold Webber (1973:90-91) recorded a story of *sngaytskstx* Indian Alex Christian's 1916 bear hunting trip to what was then known locally as "Irrigation Creek," and which was subsequently known as Berry Creek and Balfour Creek. Moberly also recorded in 1865 that an area along the Illecillewaet River was a "favorite Indian hunting ground for cariboo and grizzly bears" (Moberly 1865b). Bear were the specific objects of traditional hunts by the *sngaytskstx*, rather than opportunistic targets which would be picked off if encountered.

Several techniques by which the *sngaytskstx* hunted bears in this area have been recorded. Ray indicated that, in the spring, deadfalls baited with fish or venison were used to kill bear, and described the type of deadfall used. He also indicated that during the winter, the Natives would drag hibernating bears out of their den, either by hand or by means of a rope tied around the animal's head. He said that they were never smoked out (Ray 1975:139-140). Martin Louie also described for us the deadfalls that were used. He said, as well, that both black bears and grizzlies were sometimes shot with bows and arrows, and that special long, large arrows were used, which could double as spears if the bear closed before the hunter had time to use his bow. Dogs were also used to hunt black bear, but not grizzlies, which would just kill the dogs, Mr. Louie added.

The importance of the bear to the *sngaytskstx* was demonstrated by the practice of bear ceremonialism intended to bring further good fortune in bear hunting. Walter Moberly recorded their practice of this ceremonialism in 1865, stating that after the bear was killed:

> ...the Indians skinned him, secured all the choice pieces and his head, and returned to the camp, where they had such a gorge that I could not get them away that day. They stuck his head on a pole, decorating it with such white and red cotton rags as they could collect from their tattered clothing telling me that if they did not

> do so they would have no luck (Moberly 1885:47).[3]

Martin Louie told us that after a black bear was killed, the hunters would immediately sing a traditional song for the bear, and that he had seen some old aboriginal people, including his grandfather, cry when singing the song. Mr. Louie also recalled that many years ago, after the bear's head was skinned to be eaten, charcoal had first to be placed on its forehead, in accordance with the bear's legendary "make-up." The late Albert Louie also knew of the songs sung while the bear was being butchered, and also told us about the practice of painting the bear's head with charcoal.

Little information has been recorded concerning the Lakes hunting of elk or moose. Both Teit (1930b:242) and Ray (1975:136) reported that both animals were scarce in *sngaytskstx* territory. John Work recorded in 1830 that at that time, some elk were present in the region, but neither he nor any other source of which we are aware describes how the *sngaytskstx* hunted them (Work 1830). Ray stated that both elk and moose were called with a whistle made from the stems of either elderberry or "rhubarb" [cow parsnip] (Ray 1975:142).

Information about where smaller fur-bearing mammals were trapped traditionally by the Lakes is very sketchy. Indian Agent Galbraith indicated in 1902 that the Arrow Lakes people trapped marten, fisher, beaver, wolverine and mink,[4] but described the location of the trapping only very generally as being around "Arrow Lake and vicinity" (*Rossland Miner* 1902). Some evidence suggests that the stretch of the Columbia between Castlegar and the Pend'd'Oreille River may have been a particularly important trapping ground. A non-Native who visited the well-known Lakes man Alex Christian at an unidentified time between approximately 1900 and 1920, in a cabin Mr. Christian used while trapping the Champion Lakes region east of the Columbia River, observed that he had taken a large number of beaver, marten and muskrat pelts (Webber 1973:87). The area at and north of the upper end of old Upper Arrow Lake also seems to have been an important trapping ground. De Smet's map of this region in the 1840s identifies as "Riv. aux Castors" ['Beaver River'] a river some distance above old Upper Arrow Lake north of two high mountains. The mountains are very likely Mount Mackenzie and Ghost Peak, and the "Beaver River" the present-day Illecillewaet River, immediately south of present day Revelstoke (De Smet [1842-1848]). De Smet's name certainly suggests that the Illecillewaet may have been a significant trapping ground. The area around the Northeast Arm of Upper Arrow Lake was also an important trapping area. "Cultus Jim" and the Christian family are known to have come up here to trap in the 1890s and earlier (*Kootenay Mail* 1894c; 1895a).

The most comprehensive source indicating early trapping, and to a lesser extent, hunting, is the trading statistics kept by the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Colvile, where the *sngaytskstx* regularly traded, and where the Lower Kutenai and Kalispel also frequently went. Fort Colvile's records provide comprehensive statistical documentation of the types of animals that were hunted and trapped by the Native groups who traded there. These statistics must be used with some caution as an indication of which animals were obtained traditionally, since the hides obtained were trapped primarily to satisfy the demand of the Hudson's Bay Company. Nevertheless, the returns provide a very good indication of the type and volume of animals available in the territories of identified groups, as well as their facility at hunting certain types of game.

Unfortunately, only a few of these early trade records have survived. The 1830-1831 Fort Colvile journal recorded the trade of the Lakes,[5] Lower Kutenai and Kalispel,[6] but no other journals from this post are known to have survived. Fort Colvile trading statistics which make differentiations between the trade with specific aboriginal groups were also reported for the years 1827 and 1828, and were recorded in an 1830 report by John Work.

Work's 1830 report listed Fort Colville's trade during the years 1827 and 1828, and differentiated the trade by separate Native groups. Ten such groups were identified: Lakes Indians; Kettle Falls Indians [Colville], Sinapolish [Sanpoil]; Spokans; Awlhearts [Coeur D'Alene]; Earring Indians [Kalispel and Pend'Oreille];[7] Flatbows Kootany [Lower Kutenai]; Kootanies [Upper Kutenai]; Nez Perces, as well as Freemen, independent non-aboriginal traders. The statistics provided for the Lakes, the Lower Kutenai, and the Kalispel/Pend d'Oreille are noted in Table 1 that follows:
The data clearly indicate that in the late 1820s the Lakes were strong and regular providers of beaver, an association which was also noted by the traders in the journals themselves. Marten also seem to have been fairly common in the territory trapped by the Lakes people, relative to the other groups. However, while significant numbers of muskrat were trapped by the Lakes, relative to some other groups, it was the Lower Kutenai and the Kalispel, not the Lakes, who were the principal suppliers of muskrat to the fort. While the number of bear skins traded was limited, it is noteworthy that the Lakes did trade more bear than any other group. Also of interest is the fact that the traders purchased significant amounts of fresh venison from the Lakes, which suggests that

Table1. Commodities Traded from Lakes, Lower Kutenai and Pend d'Oreille [Kalispel] at Fort Colvile, 1827-1828 (Work 1830)

	Lakes		Lower Kutenai		Pend d'Oreille/Kalispel	
	1827	1828	1827	1828	1827	1828
Beaver Skins	281	336	79	16	297	215
Bears, Black	5	3	–	1	–	1
Bears, Brown	2	5	–	1	2	2
Bears, Grizzly	5	1	-1		–	–
Castorum (pairs)	60	107.5	–	–	12	17
Fishers	13	9	29	–	4	6
Foxes	1	5	–	–	6	1
Martens	72	157	5	–	4	25
Minks	13	33	10	–	22	46
Musquash [Muskrat]	76	188	626	29	577	971
Otters	15	28	6	3	18	34
Elkskins	5	–	32.5	1	3	2
Chiveu [Deer]	22	8	553	9	4	3
Venison, Fresh	235	94	–	–	–	63

the Lakes were resident around the fort in the late 1820s for significant periods of time, hunting on behalf of the traders.

These statistics corroborate other statements by traders that in the early 19th century, the country of the *sngaytskstx* was well stocked with beaver (Dease 1827; Ross 1855:171-172), and that the *sngaytskstx* soon became known to the fur traders at Fort Colvile as the best beaver hunters who frequented the fort (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831). [Ray (1975:II:141) recorded that the beaver were either snared or taken with a deadfall.] While the HBC's demand for furs definitely increased the scope of the *sngaytskstx* beaver hunting, the extent of their beaver hunt prior to the fur trade period is not known. The earliest recorded evidence from this region, provided by David Thompson in 1811, suggested that a fall beaver hunt had not previously been part of the traditional subsistence pattern of Lakes people. Snow was already deep on the ground in the Arrow Lakes region in October 1811 when Thompson met an aboriginal man and his family out hunting. When Thompson enquired if the snow was unusually deep, the man replied that he did not know, because he "never left the village at this season but now many of them would leave it to hunt furs, to trade" (Glover 1962:385).

Groundhogs may have been the favourite small game hunted by the *sngaytskstx* in aboriginal times. Jason Ovid Allard (n.d.) observed at Fort Shepherd in the late 1860s that marmots [better known as whistlers or groundhogs] were thoroughly enjoyed by the Lakes people (Allard n.d.). Frequent references to marmots being taken as food in ethnohistoric documents suggest that they were both plentiful and easily obtained. Ray noted that marmots were "taken by drowning out," flooding them out of their holes (Ray 1975:141). Muskrat, rabbits and marten were also hunted by the *sngaytskstx*. Snares were made for killing rabbits, although sometimes these animals were dragged from their holes (Ray 1975-140-141).

When circumstances permitted, the *sngaytskstx* made use of virtually all the parts of the animals they killed. In response to a question from Hudson's Bay Company headquarters in 1829 concerning the Native peoples' use of animals for other than their meat, John Work at Fort Colvile replied:

> The hair, horns and hoofs are sometimes thrown away as useless, but no other part of the animal is suffered to be lost even the bones are pulverized to extract every particle of fat from them (Work 1829).

When time was short, or the *sngaytskstx* were travelling, they might be less selective. Walter Moberly recorded that when the Lakes guides hired on his 1865 exploring expedition shot a caribou, they "quietly cut off the best pieces, broke his legs to get the marrow, which they ate raw," and left the remainder (Moberly 1885:47). When the people were in camp, surplus meat could be prepared to preserve it for winter. Venison was preserved for winter by roasting chunks of it before a fire, then pounding the block of cooked meat on a rock into flat sheets. The flattened slabs were then threaded onto a long stick and hung over a fire to remove any extra moisture (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:7).

Fishing

The Lakes people ate more meat than fish, yet fish still comprised a significant portion of their diet. While Lakes people are recorded as having fished in the more northerly parts of their territory, particularly on the Arrow Lakes, Trout Lake, Slocan River and Lake, and the mouth of

the Kootenay River, among the most important traditional Lakes fisheries was Kettle Falls, on the Columbia River about 28 miles [45 Km] below the present international border in Washington State (Curtis 1911: 64; Teit 1930b: 250; Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b). Each summer the Lakes would travel to the Kettle Falls fishery, and join the Colvilles and several other aboriginal groups from the Plateau region to catch the chinook and coho salmon which attempted to ascend the falls (see Figure 27).

The most important anadromous species to the Lakes and Colville was the spring or Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*), which ascended the Columbia River in June, and continued its run until August. The fishery on the Arrow Lakes appears to have taken place in August and later, after the Kettle Falls and Slocan fisheries had ended. In August 1859, John Palliser remarked that there were no Native people on the Kootenay River, as they too had all gone to fish in the Arrow Lakes (Spry 1968:475). The Lakes and Colville held their "first salmon ceremony" for the chinook salmon, and it occupied a significant position in their ritual life (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:4-5; 1998:242).

The other two species of salmon which ascended the upper Columbia were the sockeye (*O. nerka*), which came in July, and the coho (*O. kisutch*), which came in October and November. The Lakes and Colville considered both of these species to be of less economic value than the chinook, and were ancillary to the chinook fishery (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:5). Other fish of economic importance found in the Arrow Lakes include bull trout [formerly called Dolly Varden char], sturgeon, and several species of trout.

Early 19th century historical sources indicate that significant amounts of salmon reached the Arrow Lakes region, although these sources very rarely identified particular species. Many of these same sources also remarked that the salmon observed were of relatively poor quality (G. Simpson 1824-1825; E. Simpson 1826; Work 1830). We do not conclude from this that the Arrow Lakes was a poor fishery however. While the salmon these men observed were undoubtedly in very bad shape, we consider it much more likely that their conditions reflects the time of year they were observed, along with the extent of their migration. Coincidentally, the two Simpsons and Work all recorded their observations of Arrow Lakes salmon in October, when the salmon present in this region of the Columbia were in their very last stages of life. These sources recorded that the dead and dying salmon were being collected by the aboriginal people for their winter stores.[8] Since the poor quality of these observed salmon is more likely related more to the time of the observation, rather than to the distance travelled to reach this area, it is unlikely that the salmon present this far up the Columbia earlier in the year were in the same condition. Indeed, in April 1825, Alexander Ross, commenting on the salmon from a point on the west side of Lower Arrow Lake, made no reference to the poor quality of the salmon, but noted that "the waters are, apparently at least, more productive than the land, for the salmon and other species of fish peculiar to the country sported about in every direction" (Ross 1855:167).

Several places on the Arrow Lakes have been recorded as notable fishing areas. Teit identified Nakusp, near the lower end of the east side of Upper Arrow Lake, as a noted fishing place for "lake trout" [likely Dolly Varden char] as well as salmon (Teit 1930b:209). Teit was also told that a kokanee fishery was centred at a place named "*x.aie¯ʔkɛn*", at a creek (very likely Caribou Creek) near the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, below Burton (Teit 1930b:209). Another Native kokanee fishery was observed and recorded at Galena Bay (on Upper Arrow Lake) at the beginning of the 20th

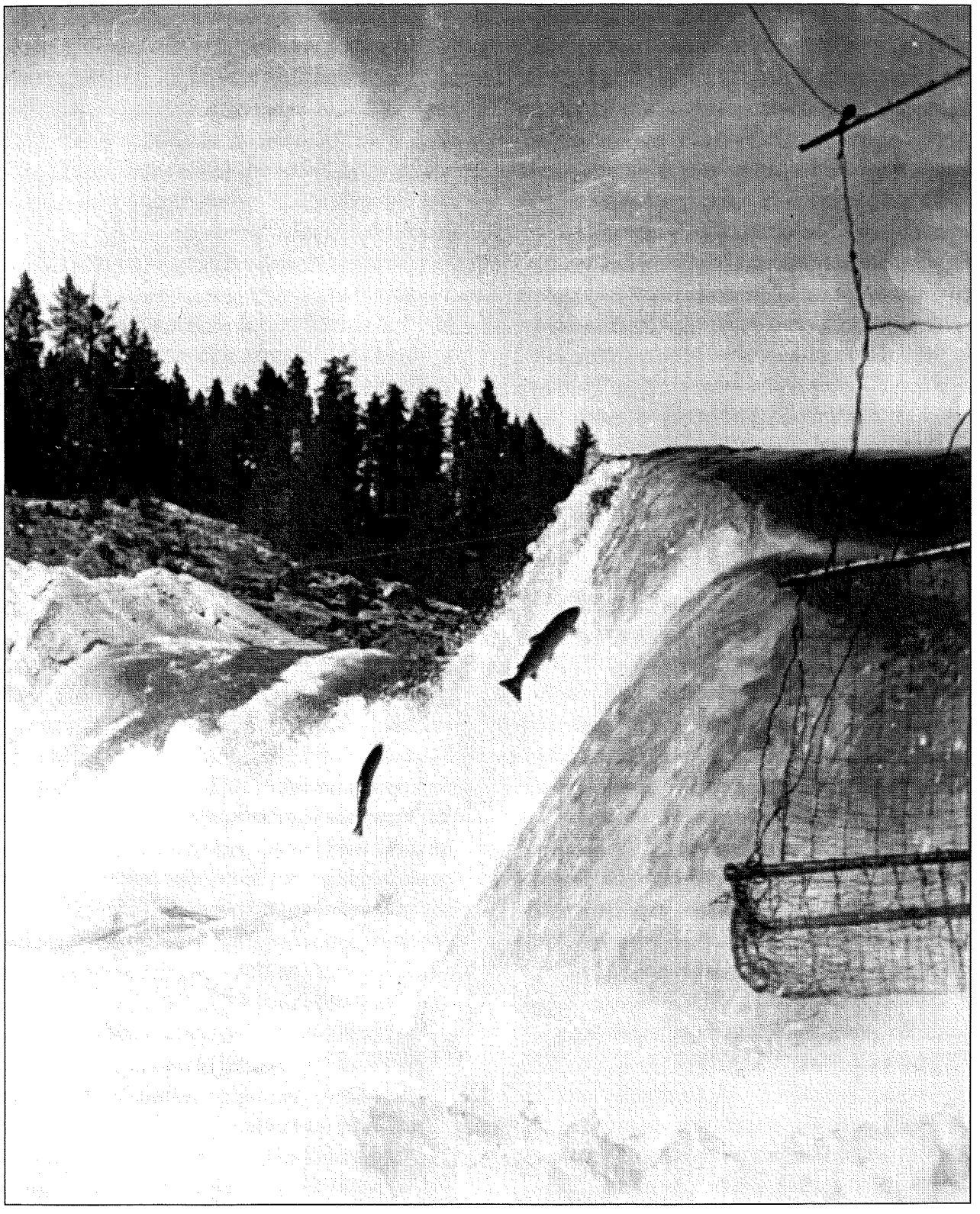


Figure 27. Salmon leaping near j-shaped basketry trap, Kettle Falls, Washington (Don's Studio and Camera Shop, Colville, Washington). Pre-1940.

century (Harrison 1961a; 1961b). One of our Lakes consultants, Joe Barr recalled that a creek at Trail was also identified as being abundant in kokane.

Several Native salmon fisheries were recorded in the 1860s. In early October 1861, Magistrate Cox reported that an area on the Columbia, west of Castlegar, was a salmon fishery used by the Indians (Cox 1861). James Bissett observed Natives fishing at the mouth of the Kootenay River when he visited the site during the first week of August in 1868, and noted that on the lower part of Lower Arrow Lake "the lake appears to be teeming with salmon from the sea, and with trout" (Bissett 1868).

De Smet may also have recorded a salmon fishery at the Akolkolex River, above the north end of old Upper Arrow Lake. His map of the Plateau region from the 1840s identified as "R. aux Saumons" ['Salmon River'] a river flowing into the east side of the Columbia above the north end of the same lake. Like the Akolkolex, which is the only substantial river in this area, the river on De Smet's map has several branches in its upper regions (De Smet [c.1842-1848]).

Some information has been recorded about a fishery at Castlegar itself. Verne Ray recorded the existence of an unnamed fishery settlement which was located:

> at the site of the present town of Castlegar, near the fork of the Kootenay River and Lower Arrow Lake [and] was important for both spear and line fishing. There was a rapids here, which aided the fisherman (Ray 1936:127)

Sturgeon were also fished in the Arrow Lakes. In 1825, Alexander Ross was told by a "*Sinatcheggs*" [Lakes] chief he met at the south end of Upper Arrow Lake that "the lakes abound with sturgeon and other fish; so that we live well and are at peace with all men" (Ross 1855:172). The former economic importance of sturgeon to the Lakes and Colville people was also noted by our Native consultants in the 1970s, who stated that when the sturgeon was butchered, a set ritual was always followed — the head was removed, and hung in a tree, facing east (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:2).

Fishing Techniques

The older ethnohistoric sources contain information about the techniques used to take fish at Kettle Falls. It seems that during the early chinook run, in early and mid-June, there was heavy reliance upon the spear, likely because the water was still too high to allow for the use of a basket trap. David Thompson observed that during the month of June 1811, despite the scarcity of food in the Indian camp, only one man was employed spearing fish at Kettle Falls and he could catch no more that eleven fish per day (Glover 1962:336). The use of only the spear to procure this early run was also noted by Lieutenant Johnson, a member of Wilkes' United States Exploring Expedition, who visited the fishery in mid-June 1841 (Wilkes 1844:483). By late June, the water had usually descended enough to allow use of the basket trap. If it had not, then enough salmon to feed all the Native people who had congregated at the falls could usually not be obtained. The Fort Colvile Journal of July 1st, 1830, reported the consequences of the river's remaining unusually high that year:

> The River falls but slowly. Salmon are very numerous in the river but owing to the higher waters, a basket cannot as yet be set to catch them at the Falls, and the Indians with spears cannot kill so many as will afford one meal a day to their large Camp... (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831).

The fall in the water level made possible the use of the basketry trap, and consequently a massive increase in the size of the catch. The 1830 Fort Colvile journal recorded that by July 14th that year, the basketry trap was in place, with the result that "the Indians at the falls get upwards of two hundred salmon some days in their basket, but seldom less than one hundred" (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831). In 1829 John Work observed and described these basketry traps used at the falls:

> The baskets are of an oblong form of different sizes according to the situation where they are to be used. Sometimes ten feet long four or five feet wide and as deep; they are suspended in a favourable situation in the falls, where the salmon in attempting to leap the cascade jumps into the basket (Work 1829).

Several of these basketry traps were in use at the main falls (see Figure 27). Verne Ray also recorded that the Lakes had a site between Hayes Island and the river bank where they used a huge basketry trap to do most of their fishing. Near this basketry site, several individual fishermen speared salmon or fished with a line, and guests received their distribution of fish (Ray 1975:129-130).

Estimates of the amount of salmon caught at the Kettle Falls fishery vary, as they refer to observations made in different years and at different times of the year. All the estimates are large, however. Fur trader Ross Cox, in chronicling his adventures along the Columbia River in 1814, remarked that the Natives at *La Chaudière* [Kettle Falls] "take vast quantities of salmon which they dry and preserve for use during the winter and spring months" (Cox 1957:189). In 1841, Lieutenant Johnson recorded that the basket was raised three times during a twenty-four hour period and frequently contained three hundred fish (Wilkes 1844:472).[9] In July of 1846, Father DeSmet observed the basket being checked about seven or eight times in a day, and noted that each time it contained about 250 salmon (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:482). Paul Kane wrote in the summer of 1847 that the chief's basket trap would average about 400 fish daily, and the chief told him that he had taken as many as 1700 salmon, weighing an average of 30 pounds each, in the course of one day (Kane 1974:219).

The "chief" to which Paul Kane referred was the "salmon chief," who presided over the handling of the communal basketry trap and the distribution of the salmon, and who was said to possess the special knowledge necessary to induce the salmon run if it appeared to be weak (Kane 1974:216). Kane reported that in 1847 the salmon chief at Kettle Falls was "*See-pays*," whom he termed the "Chief of the Waters" (Harper 1971:123). This was very likely the same person described by John Work in 1829 as "*Supess* the good salmon spearer" (Work 1829a). By the 1850s, a man known as "*kinkenekwe*", who Joset first identified as "Chief at Kettle Falls in the summer," had become the salmon chief and retained this position until his death in the mid-1890s (Joset n.d.).

Kane recorded that the salmon chief maintained his basket trap for a month, and distributed the proceeds of the catch among all the people. Kane then indicated that:

> After the expiration of one month, the Salmon Chief abandons his exclusive privilege, as the fish are getting thin and poor, and allows all who wish it to take them. For this purpose some use smaller baskets made like the chief; others use the spear, with which they are very expert, and an ordinary spearsman will take easily as many as 200 in a day; others use a small hand

> net in the rapids, where the salmon are crowded together and near the surface. These nets are somewhat like our common landing-nets, but ingeniously contrived, so that when a fish is in them, his own struggles loosen a little stick which keeps the mouth of the net open while empty; the weight of the salmon then draws the mouth like a purse, and effectually secures the prey (Harper 1971:124).

Several accounts of the ceremonial eating of the first salmon taken in a trap have been recorded. Elmendorf recorded that the first salmon caught by the Lakes was cooked and eaten by all the men present at the fisheries (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:7). Ray described a ceremony that was held for the first salmon only, and was performed by the salmon chief alone, who sat by the river, watching, singing and praying. Apparently there was no dancing. According to Ray, the first salmon caught in the trap was eviscerated and boiled or roasted and then served to those who were present at the trap. The bones were then collected and thrown back into the river (Ray 1975:133). Our Colville (*sx̣weyi7lhp*) consultants told a third version of this ceremony, in which the first male and female salmon taken in the trap were prepared by two women and served to all the people present at the fishery site, beginning with the village leaders. The bones were ceremoniously thrown back into the river (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b).

Various prohibitions were observed at Kettle Falls to avoid offending the salmon. Children, widows and widowers were not permitted near the traps. Menstruating women were not allowed to associate with the fishermen, walk near the fishery, or eat fresh salmon. Swimming and smoking were not permitted above the fishery and water had to be obtained downstream from the fishing activities. The people believed that violating any of these taboos would cause the fish to disappear. Ray noted that "women were permitted to be present but not to touch the fish until they had been removed from the place of distribution" (Ray 1975:132).

Other rigid restrictions concerning the fishery were noted by David Thompson in July, 1811, and he concluded that some of the taboos which he first thought to be simply superstitions were entirely practical. Thompson stated that:

> ...experience has taught them the delicate perceptions of this fish, even a dog going to the edge of the water, the salmon dash down the Current, and any part of one of them being thrown into the water, they do not return until the next day, especially if blood has been washed; in spearing of them, if the fish is loose on the Spear and gets away, the fishing is done for that day. . .I looked upon a part of the precautions of the Natives as so much superstition, yet I found they were not so; one of my men, after picking the bone of a Horse about 10 AM carelessly threw it into the River, instantly the Salmon near us dashed down the current and did not return until the afternoon; an Indian dived, and a in a few minutes brought it up but the fishery was over for several hours (Glover 1962:335-337).

At the Kettle Falls basketry trap, the salmon were distributed equally to everyone present. The fish were not cut up for distribution, as was practised by the Sanpoil to the southwest, but were given out one after another (Ray 1975:134). Paul Kane indicated in 1847 that the salmon chief

distributed an equal share of the salmon catch to all the people, including small children. Kane further noted that during the month that the basketry trap was in place, the salmon chief controlled both the fishing and the distribution, after which time it was open to everyone (Kane 1974:218-219).

At Kettle Falls, structures were built at the fishery that were used both for shelter and for drying the salmon. Paul Kane described such a structure he observed in 1847:

> The lodges are formed of mats of rushes stretched on poles. A flooring is made of sticks, raised three or four feet from the ground, leaving the space beneath it entirely open, and forming a cool, airy, and shady place, in which to hang their salmon to dry (Harper 1971:123).

These same structures had also been described in 1811 by David Thompson:

> This Village is built of long sheds of about twenty feet in breadth by from thirty to sixty feet in length, they were built of boards which somehow they had contrived to split from large Cedars drifted down the River, partly covered with the same and with Mats, so as to withstand the Rain; each Shed had many poles for smoke drying the Salmon as they have no salt (Glover 1962:335).

Several weirs have been recorded ethnohistorically in Lakes territory further up the Columbia from Kettle Falls. The best description was provided by Alexander Ross, who noted and described a stone weir at the mouth of the Kootenay River in the spring of 1825:

> It is rendered still more remarkable by a dike of round stones, which runs up obliquely against the main stream, on the west side for more than one hundred yards in length, resembling the foundation of a wall; it is nearly as high as the surface of the water, and is clearly seen at low water. On the opposite or east side is a similar range, of less extent. These are evidently the work of man, and not destitute of ingenuity; we supposed them to be a contrivance for the purpose of catching fish at low water: they are something similar to those used by the Snakes during the salmon season. At the upper end both ranges incline to the centre of the river, where they nearly meet (Ross 1855:165).

William Kittson noted the presence of a Lakes weir at the mouth of the Slocan River in 1826, but did not describe its construction (Kittson 1826).

The most common technique used by Lakes fishermen to catch small fish, like trout in streams, was a conical basketry trap. Nancy Wynecoop described this style of trap to Elmendorf who wrote in his field notes that "all the small streams in L[akes] country had one in them". He further noted that cords were attached to the mouth of the trap and fastened onto either bank of the stream to keep the trap positioned in a spot where there was a small waterfall or rapids (Elmendorf 1935-1936:II:22a). Ray reported that these funnel-shaped traps were individually owned, and that any fisherman owning such a trap was free to retain the entire catch for himself. Box-type traps were also constructed by Lakes fishermen; the smaller ones were owned individually while the larger ones were usually the property of several fishermen (Ray 1975:134-135). Line and spear fishing were also practised by the Lakes fishermen

on the rivers (Ray 1936:126-127).

Teit described the Lakes people's methods for lake fishing as resembling those of the Shuswap, which entailed the use of long baited set lines provided with floats and sinkers. Trolling lines, either dragged from canoes or thrown from the shore, were also common. In the spring, large nets were pulled through the water between two canoes. Gill nets and drag nets of various sizes were also employed in lake fishing (Teit 1930b:246).

Gathering

A comprehensive description of the use of plants for food and medicine by Okanagan-Colville speaking people, including the Lakes, can be found in our monograph entitled *Ethnobotany of the Okanagan- Colville Indian of British Columbia and Washington State* (Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy 1980).

Plants were gathered by the Lakes people in the vicinity of the Arrow Lakes, although exact gathering locations are seldom recorded in the literature, and plants are also frequently not fully identified. Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson remarked in 1824 that the Lakes survived on the "few roots they collect in the fall" (G. Simpson 1824-1825). He provided no further detail however.[10] Alexander Ross recorded that Lakes people presented him with berries and roots in 1825 during his trip through the Arrow Lakes, but he did not identify the species of plants (Ross 1855:174).

Some gathering sites around the Arrow Lakes that *have* been recorded include the upper part of Upper Arrow Lake, at Arrowhead, and the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, known to be good huckleberry-picking sites (Teit 1930b:209). Mary Marchand told us that her grandmother used to go up to the head of Upper Arrow Lake each summer, as the huckleberries were plentiful here. Teit (1930b:209) also recorded a site near Arrowhead, at the former upper end of Upper Arrow Lake, that was a noted area for digging tiger lily bulbs, another favoured food of the Lakes people. According to Nancy Wynecoop, the Lakes people dug these bulbs in July and August. Elmendorf (1935-36:I:26).

Several places on and south of the Arrow Lakes have also been recorded as important places to gather Saskatoon berries, also known by their American name of service berries. These included Galena Bay, on Upper Arrow Lake, and a place identified by Teit as being "at a creek on the west side of Columbia River, close to Trail." Teit and others specifically indicated that "this was a center for gathering service berries" (Johnson 1964:171; Teit 1930b:209). Captain John Nelson recalled seeing Native people come to pick Saskatoon and Oregon grape berries at Galena Bay in the early 20th century (Harrison 1961a; 1961b). In 1861, Magistrate Cox observed that wild strawberries (*Fragaria vesca*), a popular food among the Lakes (Elmendorf 1935-1936:1:31-31a), and Oregon grape were very common near Castlegar (Cox 1861). Cox also observed Native tobacco, *Nicotiana attenuata* growing just west of Castlegar (Cox 1861).

Black tree lichen (*Bryoria fremontii*) was gathered from lodgepole pine and ponderosa pine trees, the larch and the Douglas-fir. David Douglas observed Native people gathering lichens in April of 1827, at the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, and commented that the lichen was made into "a sort of bread-cake in times of scarcity" (Wilks 1959:250).

8.3.2 Dwellings

Semi-subterranean pit houses — permanent dwellings found in winter villages — are known to have been used traditionally by many of the more northerly Plateau peoples such as the Thompson and Shuswap. Their use by the

sngaytskstx has also been recorded, as late as the first part of the 19th century. In 1909, when James Teit recorded his Lakes data, none of the oldest living *sngaytskstx* had themselves lived in this type of dwelling. However, Teit's oldest Lakes consultant, Antoinette Christian, recalled that many years earlier her mother had lived for some time in one of these houses, and she had heard her mother describe them. Most of these underground houses were quite small and inhabited by only one or two families. The pit was dug in dry, sandy soil to a depth of one to two metres, and the entranceway was at the top (Teit 1898-1910; 1930b:226-227).

Mat lodges, both circular and oblong, were widely used by Northern Okanagan and Colville peoples by the early 19th century, and appear to have been the most common type of dwelling used by the *sngaytskstx* at this time. Both circular and oblong mat lodges were observed and described by John Work when he descended the Arrow Lakes in October 1823:

> One of the lodges was of oblong form and constructed with poles and the external covering cedar bark, this appeared to be not only a dwelling but also a kind of a store as considerable quantities of dried salmon and other articles were deposited here. The other lodge was of a circular form composed of poles covered with kind of mats made of bullrushes sewed together (Work 1823)

The first structure that Work described was later identified by Teit as the "square or square-topped lodge." The framework of this lodge was comprised of four main poles that converged somewhat, forming a square or slightly oblong smoke-hole. The base of the lodge was generally circular, although some may have been slightly square. Some of these structures were said to have been constructed almost exactly like the underground house, but above ground and with much lighter materials. Mats were used to cover the structure in the summer months. During the winter, for greater warmth, these dwellings could be covered with a layer of poles, brush and large sheets of bark, instead of mats. Cedar bark, peeled in the spring, was the bark most often used (Teit 1930b:227-228).

The floors of these dwellings were sometimes excavated to as much as half a metre, and covered with layers of Douglas-fir boughs, grasses and rush mats. A long fire pit with logs on either side was built directly on the ground in the centre of the house. The outer door was covered with a coarse, woven grass mat with horizontal supporting slats. An inner door several feet inside the house was hung with a finer grass or buckskin doormat. These square-topped lodges could be about nine metres long, and could be inhabited by all the families in the village. Each family possessed its own roofing materials and roofed over a section for itself. Men and women had separate entrances at either ends of the house. Nancy Wynecoop, Elmendorf's Lakes consultant, said that the use of these entrances by the stipulated gender was enforced so severely that a woman was "in danger of being killed" if she lifted the man's entrance covering (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:4-5,66).

The circular mat lodge that Work described in 1823 has also been identified and described ethnographically (Teit 1930b:227; Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:5a). Generally, such lodges were small and usually occupied by one or two families. The mats were laid on a circular framework of poles, with three poles usually being used. In the summer only one layer of tule mats would cover the framework, but in the winter, as many as four would be used. When the

lodges were well covered, they were warm, and offered good protection from the rain and snow.

In earlier times, the *sngaytskstx* used long or oblong-shaped lean-tos, which could be of considerable length (Teit 1930b:227; Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:5). These long lodges were constructed as temporary shelters used at fishing camps or to accommodate visitors; they were useful because they could house many people, and required fewer mats than would tents housing an equivalent number of people. Only a single layer of mats was generally used to cover the structure. When more comfort was required, two of these lodges could be built face to face and the ends filled in with poles, over which brush and mats were laid. Fires were built along the open front. This type of lodge was seldom used in the winter. Teit was told in 1909 that among the *sngaytskstx*, this type of lodge went out of use a long time ago (Teit 1930b:227-228).

One widely-used small structure was the sweathouse. Apparently, among the *sngaytskstx*, men and women had separate sweathouses (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:69-70; Ray 1939:133). They were used both for cleansing and for therapeutic purposes (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:80). A description of sweatbathing was recorded by John Work in 1829:

> Closing themselves up in a kind of oven/ in which hot stones are placed and water thrown upon them/ till they are in a profuse sweat and immediately plunging into cold water is very common both with the sick and those who are in good health. Both cold and warm bathing are much used, to effect the latter, a hollow of a sufficient size is made close to the river side, and filled with water into which hot stones are thrown till it be heated to a sufficient degree (Work 1829).

Hunters would also construct temporary sweathouses at hunting camps, where they would bathe and rub themselves with certain herbs to rid themselves of their human scent (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:79). Sweatbathing continued throughout the year. In the winter of 1886-1887, Edouard Picard saw the *sngaytskstx* man known as "Cultus Jim"[11] sweatbathing near Revelstoke during a winter cold spell. He had to cut through the ice to plunge into the frigid water (Picard 1926).

Small separate lodges were also constructed for specific female uses, including childbirth, seclusion of young or menstruating women, and quarters for elderly women chaperoning young people. Teit reported that the menstrual huts were always conical, quite small, and usually made of fir brush, or mats. He noted that many of the *sngaytskstx* huts were covered with bark, and the floors of their huts were covered with cedar or hemlock boughs (Teit 1930b:228-229).

8.3.3 Social And Political Organization

Individual *sngaytskstx* villages, or clusters of villages, were comprised of autonomous households linked to each other by kinship, exchange, association and geographical proximity. The kinship system has been described as bilineal without lineages (Walters 1938; Anastasio 1972) although the existence of nonunilinear descent groups has also been recently suggested (Ackerman 1994). Membership in these villages was very flexible, and some individuals would move freely between different summer and winter camps (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:247).

These households formed named communities or "bands" under the direction of a "chief," or *ilmíxwm*. Ethnographic data on the *sngaytskstx* indicate that the people all recognized a single person among them as head chief. Teit stated that "I found no trace of divisions among the Lakes.

They were divided in small bands each having a chief and a main headquarters. (Like the bands of the Shus[wap] & Thomp[son])" (Teit 1907-1910). Little evidence exists that the head chief of the *sngaytskstx* owed a higher allegiance to another leader within a broader confederacy, or that the linguistic commonality of the Okanagan-Colville language was reflected in the existence of a functioning political structure which incorporated the speakers of the language within it. Although Teit (1930b: 263) was told of a Head Chief of all the Okanagan- Colville, he thought that the Lakes might be excluded, due in part, to some of their families being nomadic. Elmendorf's data appears to support this conclusion. Some contemporary Okanagan-Colville people hold the view, however, that the Lakes were among those groups formerly under the jurisdiction of a Head Chief whose residence was at the head of Okanagan Lake (Maracle et al. 1993-1994: 9). Teit (1930b:263) reported that a second Head Chief was appointed after the Okanagan-Colville territory became divided by the international boundary.

Recorded data on the chief's role and authority indicates that the chief's function was apparently to guide, arbitrate and judge, roles that required influence and respect rather than to exercise absolute rule.

Details on how the traditional *sngaytskstx* political structure operated have been recorded. The Chief was assisted by a council comprised of a number of sub-chiefs, each appointed by their local groups. The Council — referred to by a term meaning 'those who think' — would meet with the Lakes Head Chief every evening during the winter. Any Lakes member could be present and could speak at these meetings, but would not officially be considered to be a member of the council (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:76-78). The information recorded by Ray led him to draw a somewhat different conclusion about the nature of the council, and he saw it as being more under the chief's control. He stated that it was "largely an instrumentality of the chieftainship and its size and membership was determined by him" (Ray 1952: 147). Furthermore, Ray stated that while the council of men (and sometimes women) had the duty of advising the chief whenever he chose to meet with them, the chief had the authority to determine the ultimate decision. Tribal assemblies were held less frequently. These were the chief's opportunities to consider public opinion and a great deal of discussion would be heard before decisions were made, by acclamation (Ray 1952:147).

Apparently a special pole with a mountain goat's head on top of it was present at each *sngaytskstx* council meeting. This was said to be the Lakes' "totemic" symbol. Lakes elder Nancy Wynecoop referred to as "the Lakes animal" and suggested that the goat was a form of "crest" used to identify these people as being Lakes (Elmendorf 1935-1936:III:6).

Not a lot of data has been recorded about the exact limitations of a *sngaytskstx* chief's abilities to enforce his authority over recalcitrant individuals, or the extent and means of his authority to discipline individual *sngaytskstx* guilty of hurtful actions against the broader community. The council reportedly heard the "confessions" of "wrong-doers;" those *sngaytskstx* who were accused of transgressions against other *sngaytskstx* who did not confess, were tied up during the council meeting and kept tied up until they confessed. Stealing and adultery were regarded as serious infractions, and, at least in the historical period, were punished by whipping (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:76). Ray also reported that whipping took place, and indicated that it was administered with anything from a stick to a throng of braided rawhide (Ray 1952:145). The role of whipping as a component

of chiefly authority among the Lakes in the mid-19th century was noted by Jason Ovid Allard, an officer at Fort Shepherd in the late 1860s. Allard recalled that the Lakes Chief Gregoire:

> had a fine type of social organization and did not hesitate to have some of his warriors publicly whipped, if they broke any of the rules he established for the conduct of his people (Allard n.d.).

The chief would admonish the wrong-doers and lecture the people about tribal solidarity, but would not personally administer the punishment; the whip would actually be wielded by one of the headman from the transgressor's village (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:76).

The antiquity of flogging as a traditional *sngaytskstx* punishment may be questionable, however. The ethnohistoric evidence strongly suggests that whipping was not practised by the Lakes before contact with non-Natives at the beginning of the 19th century, but that the practice was introduced following contact with the Hudson's Bay Company, which regularly used whipping as punishment for some offences (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831). Historian David Chance, in his assessment of the administration of punishment in the Colvile District, concluded, largely from an 1829 report prepared by John Work of Fort Colvile, that the flogging was probably an introduced practice, albeit one which was introduced early enough to have been practised traditionally (Chance 1973:96-98). Work, responding to a long questionnaire prepared by and for Hudson's Bay Company officials in London soliciting data about the Natives who used the fort, submitted details on the criminal justice and the execution of punishment by stating that the authority of the chiefs was very limited, and that no formal justice system existed. Work added that redress for wrongs was not punished collectively, but was an individual affair:

> Each man addresses his own wrongs, sometimes by the assistance of his friends. If the offender be too powerful or too brave for the injured party, the offence must pass unnoticed (Work 1829).

Work noted that while the chief played an important role in the righting of wrongs by an individual, this role took the form of conciliator and mediator, rather than disciplinarian. Work reported that:

> when, in quarrels, a murder is committed, the chief and men of influence interfere to make peace and the murderer makes some atonement by way of presents to the relatives of the deceased... (Work 1829).

Significant crimes less serious than murder were, according to Work, usually punished only by the offender's social loss of face. Work said that "a thief though detested is seldom punished and no other means taken to prevent his depredations but keeping a good watch on their property" (Work 1829).

Work was generally an incisive and accurate observer of Native customs. If he is correct in his conclusion that corporal punishment had not previously been indigenous to the Lakes, then since subsequent evidence indicates that the chiefs began flogging transgressors, it is very likely that this practise was adopted after contact with the Hudson's Bay Company. Work's evidence indicates that before the introduction of corporal punishment, the chief usually played no direct role in disciplining offenders. Exactly how the chief would enforce authority and maintain

control without engendering a fear of punishment is not certain. Work's information, stating that thieves were *seldom* punished, does intimate that a type of higher sanction might occasionally be used against the true pariahs in the community. Lakes mythology commonly refers to people being punished by expulsion from the group, and in the absence of corporal punishment, it is possible that Chiefs resorted to this practice to deal with offenders where peacemaking was neither possible nor appropriate.

Given Work's evidence that chiefs tried to mediate between the wrongdoer and the injured party, it appears that a principal role of the chief was the role of peacemaker. When a murder was committed, if the chief mediated successfully, the injured family could be atoned with presents; if he was not successful, a reprisal death would likely occur (Ray 1952:146). Occasionally, a murderer would flee to live as a slave among the Shuswap or Kutenai; he would not be welcome among the neighbouring Colville, who viewed the murder of a Lakes person as "killing one's own brother," due to the Colville's close association with the Lakes (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:71).

Effective chiefs had the ability to exercise personal charisma. An example of the charisma of the well-known Lakes Chief, Gregory (Gregorie), is illustrated in an incident reported by Ray:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the gun and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reinforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.
>
> Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own willpower." Then to all,"When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know for sure how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no crippled old folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you do not drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly disappear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed (Ray 1939:36).

Chieftainship among the *sngaytskstx* generally lasted for the chief's lifetime. Upon the death of a chief, succession was normally based on patrilineal descent but the people were permitted to select any person of their choice if the qualifications of the deceased chief's sons were not considered to be worthy (Ray 1952:143). Usually, however, the appointee was a son, brother, or even son-in-law of the former chief. The new chief was chosen by a council comprised of all the sub-chiefs (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:76).

Female chiefs of the Lakes do not seem to have been common, and none of their names have been recorded in the records which have survived from 1830 onwards. Nevertheless, Ray's consultant James Bernard, who was in his 80s when interviewed in 1931, spoke of women having been chiefs in the past. He particularly knew of one female chief of great reknown. Ray subsequently recorded that the:

> Oldest chief remembered by Bernard was a woman. Name not Known. She is said to have been the only chief who could keep her people from fighting. Usually one tribe demanded the death of as many members of the other tribe as had been killed of their own people. This went on and on. But this woman chief stopped such retaliation (Ray 1952:149fn).

This woman was reputedly the mother of Gregoire, who succeeded her (Ray 1952:143). Gregoire is known to have been the *sngaytskstx* chief in 1839, although the time he ascended to the chieftainship is not known, and he may have been the chief for some time before this. His mother would thus have been the chief in the early 1800s.

Gregoire or Gregory is the *sngaytskstx* chief about whom we have the most information. His ancestral name was *k'esawílx.* He was also known — and was remembered by our contemporary Lakes and Colville consultants — by the name *krik-wá*, which is a Native pronunciation of the French name "Gregoire."[12] He is believed to have been born between 1790 and 1800. At the time of his baptism in 1840, at which time he took the name "Gregoire" he was believed to be around 40 years old, but in 1870 Winans recorded him as being "about 80 years old" (Warner and Munnick 1972:61; Winans 1870).

The records do not indicate precisely when Gregoire first became chief. A year prior to his 1840 baptism, the missionary Modeste Demers identified him as "*Kessouiluh* [*k'esawi'lx*], chief of the Lakes" (Demers 1839a). He may also have been the same man identified by Demers in 1838 as "*Plitchouegge*, chief of the Indians of the Lakes" (Warner and Munnick 1972: 14). "*Plitchouegge*" is possibly a very poor transcription of *k'esawílx.* At the time Demers recorded the name in 1838, the *sngaytskstx* were the first Native people he had encountered west of the Rockies and he was completely unfamiliar with their language.[13]

Between the years 1839 and 1875 Gregoire was identified and recognized as head chief of all the Lakes. He was one of the first chiefs to adopt Christianity and to be baptized. Modeste Demers described him as "one of the best Indians" he knew and remarked on his "remarkable taste for spiritual things" (Demers 1839a). By 1846, according to Father DeSmet, Gregoire had led all his people to Christianity and was "now at the height of his joy" because of it (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:26). Gregoire maintained this sterling reputation throughout his life. Edgar Dewdney, who met him in 1865, recalled him as "Gregoire, the celebrated Indian chief of that part" (Gosnell 1908). Jason Ovid Allard, who met Chief Gregoire while at Fort Shepherd in the late 1860s, remembered him as "a fine type of Indian who

ruled his tribe with an iron hand" (Allard n.d.).

As Gregoire became older, additional men were recognized as sub-chiefs and assistants, but Gregoire always retained the lead role. His death or retirement took place in 1875, by which time the American Indian Agent commented that

Table 2. Individuals identified as Lakes Chiefs (from Bouchard and Kennedy 1985a: 69-70)

Date	Identification	Source
1830	"Little Chief of the Lakes"	Francis Heron (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831).
1830	"*Quilischeenshue*"	John Work (Work 1830).
1831	"Little Lake chief"	Francis Heron (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831).
1835	"Little Chief's Band" at the Kootenay Mouth	James Douglas (Douglas 1835)
1838	*Plitchouegge*	Modeste Demers (Warner and Munnick 1972:61).
1839	*Kĕssŏuilih* "Chief of the Lakes"	Modeste Demers (1839a).
1840	Grégoire *Kessouilih* "Chief of the Lakes"	Modeste Demers (Warner and Munnick 1972:61).
1846	Gregory, "their chief"	Paul De Smet (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:II:549).
1847	*Ask-a-weelish* "a chief of the lakes 60 miles above Colville"	Paul Kane (Harper 1971:223, 292).
c. 1850	*Kirkwa'*, *Kesawī'lex* "leading Chief of the Lake, at Fort Shepherd"	James Teit (1930b:270).
1855	Gregora "1st chief;" Landre, 2nd chief	A.V. Wilson (Wilson 1855:3).
1861	Gugoin "Chief"; *Miklichore*, *Qui-qui-las-ket*	W.G. Cox (Cox 1861).
1865	Gregoire	Edgar Dewdney (Dewdney 1865b; Gosnell 1908).
1866	Gregoire	Jason Ovid Allard (Allard n.d).
1866	Gregare "Chief of the Tribe"	Walter Moberly (Moberly 1866).
1870	Gregoire *Kis-a-wee-likh* "Head Chief"; Cyprien "Sub-Chief"; Baptiste *Skil-loom* "Sub-Chief"; Jacques "Sub-Chief"; Edward *Choo-wi-likh*; Victor; Augustin *Squer-a-khin*	W.P. Winans (Winans 1870).
1871	Gregory "Chief"	R.L.T. Galbraith (Galbraith 1909a; Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914).
1873	Greg-wah "Chief of Lake Indians"	John Simms (Simms 1866-1878).
1874-1875	Gre-Gore; Edward; *Stchu-wi-la-hu*; *Oraphan*; Jack; Joseph	Simms (Simms 1866-1878).
1875	Big Head Edward "Chief"	Simms (Simms 1875).
1875	Edward "newly created chief"	M. Oppenheimer (Oppenheimer 1875).
1876	Ciprien *Chesuils* "Lake Indians Chief"; Jok "Lake Sub-Chief"	Petition (1876).
1878	*Melchior*	Simms (Simms 1878).
1882	Joseph *Lcotolegu* "Head Chief"; Edward "Military Chief"; *Mechior* "Military Chief"	Joseph Caruana (Caruana 1882).
1883	Edward "Chief of the Columbia Lake Indians"	Henry Pierce (Pierce 1883:3).
1886-1887	*Melture*	Edouard Picard (Picard 1926).
1887	*Orapahan* "Chief"	Census Records, Lakes Indians (1886-1908).
1888	*Or-a-pagan*	R. Gwydir (Gwydir 1888).
1889	*Oripakin* "Chief of Lakes and Colvilles"	James Gibson (Gibson 1889).
c. 1890	*tsuwa'ilix* "last chief of the Lakes"	Nancy Wynecoop (Elmendorf 1935-1936:I:78).
1890	Edward *Stelaw*	Census Records, Lakes Indians (1886-1908).
1893	Bernard "the Prayer Chief of *Pia*"	St Regis Mission House Diary (1893).
1896	Alexander, son of Chief *Meltour*	Census Records, Lakes Indians (1886-1908).
1906	*Aur-a-pah-kin* "Chief"	Census Records, Lakes Indians (1886-1908).

"Gregware... [was] now an old man" (Simms 1875). Gregoire was not replaced by a successor from within his own family. Ray stated that "his sons had died before him, or were unwilling to take the office; recollections differ" (Ray 1975:143).

Our knowledge of the data on *sngaytskstx* Chiefs is summarized in the Table 2 that follows:

Other types of leadership positions also existed within Okanagan-Colville society. Carstens (1987) noted that the entire Northern Okanagan authority system involved an elaborate division of both labour and power. As Teit (1930b:262) first proposed, the hereditary leadership positions were accompanied by other leadership positions that were task-specific and open to all. We have recorded that the latter category included those leaders known as *xa7tús* (derived from *x7it*, which means 'first; best; most'), who were also commonly identified as "chiefs." This included positions like the Salmon Chief and Hunting Chief, to which individuals were appointed based on skill, knowledge, oratory and often an appropriate guardian spirit power (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:248).

Although the data strongly indicate that Gregoire maintained his authority over his people, even as an elderly man, the data also suggest that the political autonomy of other headmen and leaders began to be undermined, sometimes unwittingly, by the presence of fur traders, priests and government officials. Chance (1973:95-96) has described how fur trade managers at Fort Colvile took on roles which had previously been deemed within the authority of chiefs, including providing goods to indigents, receiving the first caught salmon, and adjudicating disputes. At least by 1848, managers at Fort Colvile were being addressed as *ilmíwm* ('chief') (Chance 1973:95-96).

8.3.4 Demography

Estimating the total Lakes population in the 18th and early 19th century is difficult.[14] Before the population was decimated by a significant smallpox epidemic in the 1770s or 1780s,[15] the population may have been as much as 800. By the 1820s, the population appears to have been reduced to less than 150, principally as a consequence of disease. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources do not indicate that the population was further reduced significantly by disease in the 19th century[16], or that the permanent migration of most of the *sngaytskstx* people southward to the area around Kettle Falls by the 1870s was prompted principally by reduction in population.

An estimate of the Lakes population around 1780 was given by Mooney (1928:15) as 500 and by Ray (1952;1976:17) as 800. The highest estimate made of the early pre-epidemic Lakes population, based on a systematic attempt to calculate the population, was James Teit's figure of 2000 individuals. Teit made this estimate based on his information that twenty villages had existed in Lakes territory in what would become British Columbia, each containing an average population of about fifty individuals. This totalled about 1000 people. However Teit also recorded eight villages in present-day Washington State, which were said to have larger populations. Teit remarked that the population of these Washington villages was believed to have been equal to the twenty villages in British Columbia, thus making a total of about 2,000 (Teit 1930b:210-211). The available documentary evidence strongly suggests that Teit's estimate of the pre-epidemic population was distorted by some significant errors. First, Teit's estimate was based on the assumption that all the villages recorded were occupied at the same time, which is possibly incorrect. Moreover, the ethnohistoric evidence suggests clearly that

the *sngaytskstx* population in the 18th century, before the great epidemic smallpox epidemic, did not inhabit lands very far south of the international border. The *sngaytskstx* occupation and use of these lands came later, after the epidemic. It would therefore be incorrect to make allowances for a larger southern population in pre-epidemic calculations.

The first recorded reference to Lakes population appears to be contained in a census recorded by Alexander Ross in 1825. Ross was told by a Lakes Chief that the group's population was "about 200" (Ross 1855:II:171). Ross's figure was based on the Chief's estimate rather than any systematic count, and it is very possible that this number overestimated the *sngaytskstx* population at that time. Statistics compiled only a few years later record that the *sngaytskstx* population then was considerably smaller. In 1827, John Dease recorded that "34 men" were in the tribe (Dease 1827). Dease's figure for adult males corresponds precisely with the numbers listed in a fuller census taken by John Work in 1829. Work's census recorded a Lakes population of 34 men, 38 women, 25 boys and 41 girls, for a total population of 138 (Work 1830). Work was very familiar with the country and its inhabitants, so even though it was common Hudson's Bay Company practice to obtain census figures from Native chiefs, Work's tabulation was likely based to some extent on his own personal knowledge. We thus consider his figure to be a reliable one.

Work's 1830 population figure of 138 was much lower than even the lowest estimate for the total population around 1780, Mooney's figure of 500. This enormous difference reflects the decimation that took place during two smallpox epidemics during the intervening years. A report by Work from March 1829 provides information about the timing and scope of these epidemics. Work stated that a smallpox epidemic had killed immense numbers of people fifty or sixty years previous, a date he had calculated from the ages of those people bearing scars (Work 1829). This epidemic thus took place approximately around 1780. Work also reported that a second epidemic had swept through the area about ten years after the first (Work 1829). These two outbreaks of smallpox are undoubtedly the epidemics referred to by Teit, although he dated them as taking place "about 1800" (Teit 1930b:212).

Estimating how many Lakes people were killed by these epidemics is difficult. Robert Boyd, who has conducted by far the most detailed research on the effects of disease among Native peoples in the Pacific Northwest, constructed his models of general population decline during the contact period on what he acknowledges to be fragmentary evidence drawn from two sources: comparative epidemiological data on smallpox mortality; and ethnohistoric descriptions of abandoned villages in the post-smallpox period. Boyd (1985:95) cites the work of the historical epidemiologist Alfred Crosby who calculated an average figure of 30 per cent mortality for "virgin soil" smallpox outbreaks in the Americas. Boyd notes that a 30 per cent decline is lower than recorded mortalities for some specific parts of North America, and lower than the descriptive evidence in some ethnohistoric sources. Consequently, Boyd concludes that "these two lines of evidence led me to accept the conservative figure of 33 1/3% as a minimal approximation of the true mortality rate in the Pacific Northwest from the smallpox epidemic of the 1770s" (Boyd 1985:95). In a more recent study on demographic change in the Plateau, Boyd modified this slightly to assume average mortality in the period between 1774 and 1805 at "a conservative figure of 40 per cent" (Boyd 1998:470).

Boyd's estimation of the rate of population loss caused by this smallpox epidemic is based on

a thorough and systematic review of the literature, and should, we consider, be given considerable weight. As Boyd acknowledges, many ethnohistoric accounts of specific areas indicate higher, sometimes much higher, rates of death. Fur trader David Thompson, who witnessed such an epidemic on the prairies, estimated that a smallpox epidemic killed fully three-fifths of the Native people it encountered (Glover 1962:xvi, 236). Thompson's ratio, extrapolated to the Arrow Lakes, would correspond with Mooney's estimate of a pre-epidemic population of 500. Approximately 200 people would thus have been remaining after the first epidemic. The mortality rate for the second epidemic would have been lower, since the survivors would have had enhanced resistance. That second epidemic would thus have killed mainly children, the aged and the infirm.

Later recorded census figures of the Lakes indicate that the overall population numbers in the 19th century never recovered from this decimation, largely due to the relatively small size of the families. W.P. Winans' census of 1870, which showed a total population of 229, indicated that the Lakes mean family size was between four and five individuals (Winans 1870). This small family size likely prevented recovery of the Lakes population to pre-epidemic levels during the 19th century.

8.3.5 Religion

Dreams, visions, and associated guardian spirits were fundamental to the traditional religious beliefs of Plateau peoples, including the Lakes, Kutenai and Kalispel. Essential concepts within this religious tradition include the vision quest, winter spirit dancing, and the sweatlodge.

The concept of guardian spirits is based on the belief that individuals can establish contact with supernatural power through a vision experience. Such a vision encounter bestows a song and dance upon its recipient, which are at the same time the visible proof of spirit contact, and the means to mobilize the power of the vision. It would also often be accompanied by a spirit sickness, an illness which indicated that the spirit was present.

While little material has been recorded about specifically *sngaytskstx* religious beliefs, data has been recorded about the Okanagan-Colville as a whole, and about other specific Okanagan-Colville groups. Spirit powers, guardian spirits and vision quests were also central to the Okanagan-Colville idea of religion. Both boys and girls were sent out on quests, usually between the ages of seven and thirteen (Spier 1938:136). It was believed to be much easier for a child to have a vision before puberty, because after puberty the child "knew everything" (Spier 1938:137).

Although a guardian spirit might come to a child anywhere in the mountains or woods, certain places were thought especially likely to bring success. Parents or other older relatives prepared the child's quest, warning against sleeping, cowardice, failing to concentrate, and bringing back false reports of success. A father would equip his son with his own power emblem, in the belief that this would make the child more likely to receive the power which it represented. The child was expected to keep alert, dive in water, take regular sweatbaths, and fast. Piles of rocks were frequently piled up, not only to prove faithful attendance, but also to keep the mind from wandering (Spier 1938:137-140).

If a spirit appeared, it would not come in a sleeping dream, but in a vision, when the child was awake or in a trance. The guardian spirit first appeared as a man or a woman, although it might disclose its animal form. Sometimes the spirit was not seen at all, in either human or animal form, and the child only heard its song and its words of

advice and command. The spirit would indicate what power it was bestowing, and promise to assist and return later in life (Spier 1938:139). Most men acquired guardian spirits; no more than one man in ten failed in repeated attempts to gain a spirit, and most men had more than one. Fewer women — probably 20 to 30 per cent —acquired a spirit (Ray 1932:182).

The most common guardian spirits among the Okanagan-Colville were animals, birds or insects. A creature's power to be bestowed was generally related to its wordly properties. For instance, the otter gave power for swimming, the western horned owl gave power to see clearly at night, and the grizzly bear gave power to acquire riches (because of the bear's great strength) as well as the power to kill grizzlies (Spier 1938:133-134; Ray 1932:172). Some powers came from mythological characters, or from inanimate objects. The same spirit might confer a weak or a strong power (Spier 1938:135). The place at which a spirit was seen also had some effect on the strength of the power; high mountains were believed to confer the strongest powers, as the spirits' natural powers were combined with the powers of the mountains (Ray 1932:172). Unfortunately, by the time ethnographers attempted to compile a detailed list of Okanagan-Colville guardian spirits in 1930, the powers of some beings were no longer known, and different consultants had different recollections of the amount and character of powers that came from a particular spirit (Spier 1938:135).

People did not publicly reveal their power except in certain very specified situations, as this might offend the spirit and cause it to leave, or might tempt a shaman to steal the power. If a person lied about the strength of his power, other people with the power would know it, but the person was not punished because his own failures would expose and ruin him. If on the other hand, a person lied about having a spirit when he did not, the spirit itself would kill him (Spier 1938:136).

One way in which a person's power could be revealed was by being expressed in a pictograph. Two men on confidential terms might talk to each other about their guardian spirits, and watch each other paint symbols of them on a large rock in the hills (Spier 1938:136). The friend would tell other people who had painted the pictures (Spier 1938:143). These paintings were believed to assist the painter to employ his power, especially to cure sickness, but the cure itself did not have to take place near the paintings. (Spier 1938:144). Only people with strong power would paint pictures on rock, and never before singing their power song at their first winter dance (Spier 1938:143). These rock paintings or pictographs would themselves frequently become a destination point for later generations of spirit questers, sometimes many years after the paintings had been done (Spier 1938:144).

Another proper way to reveal a power was at the winter dance. The return of a power in adulthood was often manifested by an illness which could be diagnosed by a shaman as "spirit-sickness" (Ray 1932:186-187). This ailment could not be cured physically, but only by giving a dance, singing the newly-acquired spirit song, and distributing gifts. This winter dance is known as *snixwám*, which means 'take sickness and drop it down'. Its purpose was to cure illness, to express thanks for a successful year, and to ask the guardian spirits for protection and luck in the coming year. Winter dances were held around January and continued until the snow half-disappeared from the mountains. The actual dancing took place from sunset to sunrise. At the dance, a person sang his or her power song, and the audience and other participants would join in the singing, to assist the dancer in controlling the spirit. These dances were sponsored by shamans,

who acted as masters of ceremony, assisted by the interpreter, the door-keeper and the host. Traditionally, a winter dance could last as long as two weeks (Spier 1938:146-153). [See Lerman (1954) for a first-hand description of a winter dance that Norm Lerman attended in Riverside, Washington in February, 1954]. The winter dance continued to be practised in the early 1990s by about a dozen families throughout Okanagan-Colville territory, although the modern dance lasts for a weekend (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:249). Apparently some Lakes people reintroduced the winter dance at Vallican in the Slocan area in December 1998 (Marilyn James 1999, in, Morran 1999:C2).

The focal point of the winter dance room is a partly-peeled fir pole erected in the center of the room, which is said to symbolize the connection being made by the singers and shamans between the human and non-human worlds. Only the singers and shamans touched the pole. Singers carried dance sticks and a symbol of their spirit helper. After the house had been ritually purified by sweeping, a singer would grab hold of the pole, begin to sing his spirit song and to dance, and then others would join in. Other activities occurring at a winter dance included doctoring the sick, power contests between competing shamans, gambling, feasting, and distributing gifts said to be given by the guardian spirit power (Spier 1938:141-157; Ray 1939:103; Lerman 1954).

One ceremony which took place at a winter dance is specifically recorded as having been performed by the *sngaytskstx* (and the Colville). This is the power seance called *sk'tu7stsút*, meaning 'cut oneself in two.' During this ceremony, a man who had ling fish for his guardian spirit power "cut himself in two" by a cord around the waist. This ceremony was used to forecast the outcome of raiding expeditions or other events, to locate lost people and articles, and to cure illness (Spier 1938:152; Miller 1990:130-135; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:249).

Another type of religious dance which the Okanagan-Colville celebrated was the "prayer dance," directed by one or two chiefs during which the assembled people danced in a circle and offered prayers to the "Chief Above." These dances were held to strengthen the bond between the living and the dead and to hasten the return of the souls of the departed. A distribution of food followed this dance. The touching or marriage dance, by which young people could choose a spouse simply by touching the selected person, was held in conjunction with the prayer dance (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:250).

The construction and use of the sweatlodge had significant spiritual value for the *sngaytskstx* and other Okanagan-Colville groups. "Sweat House" was considered a deity. All parts of the procedure by which the sweathouse was used were accompanied by ritual and spiritual significance. Prayers would be made to "Sweat House" when the rocks were being heated, and when one dashed water on the hot rocks. Each person had a sweat lodge song which he alone used. Boys apparently did not take sweat baths before the age of twelve or thirteen, when they commenced sweating as part of their training for manhood. The sweat house spirit, along with guardian spirits, the weather and the earth, would be prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips (Teit 1930b:291; Ray 1932:179; Spier 1938:166; Sismey 1970: 33-35).

LOWER KUTENAI

8.4.1 Subsistence: Hunting

Ethnographic data indicates that hunting was

of importance to both the Upper and Lower Kutenai (Turney-High 1941; Johnson 1969; Curtis 1911; Brunton 1998). Yet, significant differences existed between the practices of the Upper and Lower Kutenai. While the Upper Kutenai, reliant on the horse and strongly influenced by Plains Culture, were quite migratory, the Lower Kutenai, who relied on non-migratory food sources, were comparatively sedentary (Turney-High 1941:199).[17]

It appears that the Lower Kutenai had a conception of hunting territory ownership sometimes associated with Plateau groups, although the evidence on this point is not definitive. Some of the principal ethnographies do not discuss the subject, and the information in others is contradictory. Baillie-Grohman, who was a very authoritative source on hunting matters, observed in the 1880s that:

> A singular feature about the tribal relationship of the Flatbows was the fact that the hunting grounds in the mountains about Kootenay lake was laid out in sections, each brave and his family having a huge slice of this American Switzerland, which was called after him; so that when inquiring for the name of any prominent peak you were told the name of the buck in whose preserve it happened to be located. Thus we would find that a district the size of the Engadine, and in many ways not unlike it, would be known as Kankusco's hunting ground, and nobody else but old Kankusco, or his sons and their families, would invade this vast preserve (Baillie-Grohman 1907:309).

Indeed, Baillie Grohman remarked elsewhere that "I found that no bribe could tempt the individual to trespass upon another man's ground" (Baillie-Grohmann 1918:49). Johnson later made the same point, stating that each family head was assigned his private territory in the surrounding mountains (Johnson 1969:62). However, Baker recorded exactly the opposite information among the Lower Kutenai, and stated that the "hunting grounds belonged to the whole tribe and could be used for hunting by any member of the tribe" (Baker 1955:34).

All the ethnographic sources emphasized the significance of hunting, and of deer hunting in particular, to the Lower Kutenai. Turney-High identified deer as one of four animals of traditional economic significance to the Kutenai — buffalo, elk and caribou being the others. He classified all other species as "minor food animals" (Turney-High 1941:40). Deer, according to Turney-High's consultants, was the primary economic focus of Lower Kutenai culture, and was comparatively more important to them than to the Upper Kutenai, for whom it was second in importance behind the buffalo. This greater importance was reflected in the fact that while the Upper Kutenai hunted deer individually, the Lower Kutenai hunted them in organized drives, which constituted one of their chief communal efforts (Turney-High 1941:39). Schaeffer also emphasized the communal nature of the deer drive, in which "emphasis was placed upon the need of group co-operation rather than individual enterprise" (Schaeffer 1940:19). Johnson recorded the same thing, that deer were hunted in concerted communal drives, while other animals were hunted individually (Johnson 1969:62). Deer were also sometimes hunted by individual Lower Kutenai, who would stalk deer or hunt from canoes along the Kootenay River (Schaeffer 1940:22).

Another indication of the centrality of the

deer hunt to the Lower Kutenai was the rigid control of the communal deer hunt by the "Lower Kutenai Deer Chief," the most expert hunter in his band, who "knew where the best deer country was and, through his spirits, knew where they were most likely to be found on the specific occasion." The Lower Kutenai would extend invitations to the Upper Kutenai to join their deer drives, just as the Upper Kutenai would invite the Lower on their communal buffalo hunts. The Deer Chief would deploy a long line of youths and boys as beaters, spaced about twenty yards apart, while the adult males were stationed as archers near the trails. While the beaters raised a ruckus to drive the deer in the opposite direction, the archers would shoot them in quantity (Turney-High 1941:39).[18] The Lower Kutenai reportedly did not use the technique, practised by the Upper Kutenai, of using a "fire surround" to capture deer (as well as bears) (Schaeffer 1940:13). The Lower Kutenai used dogs for hunting deer only in winter, when dogs were used in the upper valleys to assist hunters on snowshoes (Schaeffer 1940:21-22).

Caribou were one of the four animals Turney-High (1941:40) identified as being economically significant. He thought that the caribou played a significant economic role, and moreover, considered it surprising that the Kutenai did not think the animal more economically significant than they did. He recorded that:

> The impression is that the caribou was considered something of a safety valve in the economy. They felt that they could always find caribou when other meat was scarce. They describe these animals as being able to walk on the snow without sinking in (Turney-High 1941:40).

Schaeffer, on the other hand, clearly thought the caribou was a more significant food source to the Upper Kutenai. He noted that they were hunted in April by many who felt the need of animal fat after a winter living on a protein diet (Schaeffer 1940:27).[19]

While the Upper Kutenai hunted moose, the Lower Kutenai do not seem to have done so, at least not in any systematic manner. Schaeffer was told that in the Lower Kutenai country "moose were encountered only seldom, and little or no attempt was made to hunt them" (Schaeffer 1940:28).

Ethnographic evidence suggests that mountain goat hunting was limited among the Lower Kutenai. Although the Lower Kutenai enjoyed eating mountain goat, they were said to consider it of only minor importance because "it is a very wise animal and hard to kill." It took an expert marksman to kill one, because it was never possible to come close to them. Mountain goat hides were used for robes, and as the hair was finest in summer, that is the time they were hunted. They were never hunted in spring, as their hair then was considered poor, or in winter, because their habitat was then too dangerous, or in their breeding season, when their musk makes the flesh distasteful (Turney-High 1941:40-41).

Elk were at one time more significant to the Kutenai than to the Lakes (Turney-High 1941:40), although there is some ethnohistoric evidence that the elk population in Kutenai territory had declined by the mid-19th century (Work 1830; Blakiston 1858; Hector, in Spry 1968;O'Reilly 1884). Lower Kutenai elders interviewed in the 1930s also indicated that the importance of elk had declined. They said that when elk were hunted in the fall, the people hunted individually, rather than communally, indicating that the hunt was not of fundamental importance. They also indicated that unlike the Flathead, the Kutenai did not practice an elk ceremonial. They said as well

that they did not really like elk meat, and that the elk were hunted more for their hides, which made even better robes and teepees than buffalo hide (Turney-High 1941:39).

Little information has been recorded about Lower Kutenai caribou hunting techniques. Schaeffer's Bonners Ferry consultants said that caribou were formerly numerous, but knew of no method of taking them except by stalking (Schaeffer 1940:27).

The Kutenai also hunted bears, but their methods of hunting the bear differed from the Lakes. While the Lakes had planned hunts for bear, the Kutenai did not, as they believed that a conscious hunt for bear would automatically alert the bear to the danger. However, if a bear crossed a hunter's path, or a hibernating bear's den was randomly encountered, the bear could be killed. Schaeffer recorded that while other bears could be killed in their lairs, the Kutenai had a strong taboo against killing grizzlies in this manner. They could not be killed hibernating, but had to be called out and killed in the open (Schaeffer 1966:10).[20] The Kutenai also practised bear ceremonialism, particularly with the grizzly (Schaeffer 1966:17).

Fishing

Lower Kutenai fishing practices reflected the fact that fish was the chief staple of the Lower Kutenai, even though they had little direct access to salmon. The Lower Kutenai were able to secure some salmon in the territory of friendly people nearby, but salmon was never a major component of their diet. Schaeffer contrasted the Lower Kutenai's reliance on fishing as "an economic pursuit of basic importance to the Lower Kutenai" to "one definitely supplementary among the predominantly hunting peoples upriver" (Schaeffer 1940:30). Turney-High noted that the Lower Kutenai were more systematic fishermen than the Upper Kutenai, because fish formed their chief staple. He emphasized that "the really serious Kutenai economic fishing was with traps or weirs." While Upper Kutenai weirs were individually owned, Lower Kutenai weir and trap building took place under the direction of the Fishing Chief, and this chief also attended to an even distribution of the catch from the weir throughout the camp circle (Turney-High 1941:46-49). Turney-High noted that the Lower Kutenai:

> largely subsisted by weir fishing the sloughs of the lower river's broad valleys. They began by fishing the upper reaches of their range, moving farther and farther downstream as the recession continued. The camps were moved to the high ground. . . Weirs were set across as many outlets as the slough had, ordinarily from three to five (Turney-High 1941:48).

The making and setting of the weir required several days' work by the men of the village. Turney-High described in detail the way in which the Lower Kutenai constructed and installed fish weirs:

> In contrast with the Upper bands, weir and trap fishing among the Lower Kutenai was group effort under the direction of the Fishing Chief and not the work of private individuals under contract with the chief. The requisite number of green poles was cut so that each had a crotch at the top. The preferred timbers were cedar, tamarack or fir. The screens or mats were square sections constructed of small fir boughs, or somewhat larger ones which had been split. They had to be long enough to reach the bottom

of the pond's outlet, so could not be very wide, as this was quite heavy building material. The mats were made whenever convenient and rolled up to be taken to the stream.

Openings were left in this heavy mating to receive the traps. These were the same conical traps described for the Upper Kutenai. Their position was different among the Lower bands though, as they were set near the bank where the water was shallow instead of out in the middle of the stream. A slough with a wide outlet had two traps near each bank.

The stakes were then driven into the mud, slanting somewhat in the direction of the stream's flow. Lower Kutenai weirs, being built in sluggish slough outlets, were not set funnel-wise across the stream, as among the Upper Kutenai where faster streams were fished. Long poles were set in the forks to receive the upper lashings of the mats. The mats were then lashed into one piece and taken to the outlet. . . The bottom of the screen had been made to conform to the shape of the slough's bottom from bank to bank. The top of course was straight, extending about one or one half feet above the water . . .

When the whole had been set across the stream, clever divers saw that the apparatus was properly aligned along the bottom. A quantity of good green grass with its roots and attached soil was then fixed to the bottom of the weir on the upstream side by the divers. Were this not done, the fish would be suspicious. This way, they nosed the bottom and thought they had come merely to a grassy bank. Feeling for a way around this, they went into the traps (Turney-High 1941:48-49).

This type of trap could be expected to last for one season and beyond, but was not robust enough to last through the second year (Turney-High 1941:49).

The great majority of the ethnographic sources indicate that the Creston Kutenai had access to a limited amount of salmon. However, salmon were relatively less important to them than other types of fish. Turney-High indicated that non-anadromous fish, particularly trout, were more important:

> the Bonner's ferry and Creston bands were apparently more dependent on the local fish of the Kootenay River than they were on salmon, and hence were better fishers with the weir and trap, and less adept with the spear than their kinsmen to the north (Turney-High 1941:44).

Turney-High also noted that the Lower Kutenai said that they enjoyed salmon, rather than that they depended upon it (Turney-High 1941:199). Most of their salmon, according to his Kutenai consultants, were secured near Windermere, on the uppermost part of the Columbia (Turney-High 1941:51).

Schaeffer also de-emphasized the significance of salmon to the Kutenai, indicating that the three most important fish to them were trout, Dolly Varden char (*Salvolinus malma*), and whitefish (*Prospeoium williamsoni*) (Schaeffer 1940:31).

David Chance, on the basis of his review of the early ethnohistoric sources, also noted that the lower Kutenai depended heavily on migrating fish such as trout in the Kootenay River, but not on sea-run salmon. He concluded that:

> a few of the lower Kutenai did move seasonally to the salmon fisheries on the lower river between the lake and the Columbia, and also to Kettle Falls, at any rate after the Hudson's Bay Company established itself there. But to fish and trade for salmon, the lower Kutenai had to be in harmonious relations with the Arrow Lakes and Kettle Falls or Colville Salish, which they not always were (Chance 1981:1).

Only Olga Johnson appears to place a more significant emphasis on the use of salmon by the Lower Kutenai. She stated that:

> the Kutenais whose home villages were on the lower reaches of the river, however, depended heavily upon fish all year around. Some of them often went to Arrow Lakes or the upper Columbia for the salmon harvest; the salmon could not ascend the cascades between Kootenay Lake and the river's outlet into the Columbia. At home they used river sturgeon, which sometimes weighed twenty pounds or more, bulltrout, and other kinds of Native fish (O. Johnson 1969:61).

Johnson's own fieldwork was done around 1960, and it is possible that this apparent inconsistency between her information and the other sources simply reflects the fact that her information was elicited more recently, and that the Kutenai elders she interviewed *had* made more frequent use of the salmon fisheries in the Arrow Lakes region in the 20th century than had earlier Kutenai generations. It is also possible, however, that her statement that the Kutenai fished "often" in the Arrow Lakes reflects her interpretation of Turney-High, as she does not explicitly credit her own consultants with providing such information.

Turney High (1941:50) noted that while salmon played an important part in the Kutenai economy, "it is obvious that the members of the trout family were paramount in their thinking." Both bull trout, which is also called the Dolly Varden char in the literature, and trout in general were taken by the Kutenai (Turney-High 1941:45). Schaeffer emphasized the importance of trout and char to the Kutenai, saying that they were taken principally during the period of the summer freshet (Schaeffer 1940:31).[21] Baillie-Grohman (1907:308) indicated that in 1882, "Kootenay lake was then full of the finest fish, five different species of the trout family inhabiting it."

Turney-High also recorded that sturgeon [*Catostomus catostomus*] "in former times were a reasonably important food fish" and were taken by the Lower Kutenai in the Kootenay River during the fish's spawning season in the fall. Since the sturgeon were large, powerful, and game, Turney-High's consultants said that they could never take them except in quiet water, and that only very skilful men ever attempted it. They were fished for by still line fishing, and killed by a spear after being slowly pulled to the water's surface (Turney-High 1941:46). Schaeffer's consultants told him that sturgeon were found in the Kootenay below Kootenay Falls, but rarely above it (Schaeffer 1940:31).

Two kinds of suckers were recognized by the Kutenai, and consistently taken as economic fish. "*T!atsi´ək at!*" was taken in the summer, at which time it had two red stripes along its side. The

other type, "*q!ɔ́mi*", was taken throughout the year, but considered to be at its best in July (Turney-High 1941:45).

Turney-High (1941:45) noted that whitefish were taken in the fall, while Schaeffer (1940:31) said that they were taken mainly in the summer, and identified them as one of the most important fish to the Kutenai.

Schaeffer identified ling as an important fish to the Lower Kutenai during the winter. His information was that these fish moved in schools from the Kootenay River up the different tributaries for about two weeks around the end of January or the early part of February. At this time of year, the fish would not take baited hooks and could only be caught in traps as they ascended the small streams. Unlike the summer fishery, winter ling fishing was informally pursued by individual families (Schaeffer 1940:38).

Two types of fish were taken by the Lower Kutenai solely as emergency food. "Pea-mouth" (*Mylocheilus caurinus*), sometimes called the Columbia River chub, was considered to be a poor fish, only taken when people were hungry. Squaw-fish (*Ptychocheilus oregonensis*) was also a hunger food. Their flesh was coarse, their flavour was inferior and they were very bony (Turney-High 1941:45).

Father De Smet described what he termed a "first fish" festival among the Lower Kutenai in 1845, which he indicated was an annual ceremony. He did not explicitly indicate the location, but since the trail he took went in the direction of the present border between Idaho and Montana, the ceremony likely took place around Flathead Lake. This would suggest that he was referring to the Bonner Ferry Kutenai, not the Creston people. De Smet recorded that:

> I arrived among the Arcs-a-plats in time to witness the grand fish festival, which is yearly celebrated; the men only have the privilege of assisting there at. Around a fire fifty feet long, partially overlaid with stones of the size of a turkey's egg, eighty men range themselves; each man is provided with an osier vessel, cemented with gum and filled with water and fish. The hall where this extraordinary feast is celebrated is constructed of rush mats, and has three apertures, one at either extremity for the entrance of guests; the middle one serves for transporting the fish. All preparations being complete, and each man at his post, the chief after a short harangue of encouragement to his people, finishes by a prayer of supplication to the Great Spirit, of whom he demands an abundant draught. He gives the signal to commence, and each one, armed with two sticks flattened at the extremity, makes use of them instead of tongs, to draw the stones from the embers and put them in his kettle. This process is twice renewed, and in the space of five minutes the fish are cooked. Finally, they squat around the fire in the most profound silence to enjoy the repast, each trembling lest a bone be disjointed or broken — an indispensable condition of a plentiful fishery. A single bone broken would be regarded as ominous, and the unlucky culprit banished from the society of his comrades, lest his presence should entail on them some dread evil (De Smet 1906:198).

The fish that was the object of the ceremony is not identified. Many Salish groups practised a similar

ceremony to honour the "first salmon" of the season, but salmon do not run to the Flathead Lake area. De Smet's account follows this story with the reference to sturgeon noted above, but these sturgeon referred to are identified as coming from Kootenay Lake.

Gathering

A limited amount of site-specific information has been recorded about where plants were gathered along the West Arm of Kootenay Lake and Lower Kootenay River. While huckleberries (*Vaccinium membranaceum*), quite possibly the most important plant food used by the Lakes, were gathered along the north side of the Kootenay River (Teit 1930b:209), none of the early Kutenai ethnographies recorded any specific information about plants gathered by the local Kutenai. However, in the 1980s, Chris Luke, Chief of the Creston Band, identified some plants which he indicated were traditionally gathered by the Kutenai in the Creston Valley.[22] He said that tiger lily, wild onion, wild carrots, wild potatoes, bracken root, wild clover, flowering raspberries, salmonberry, and hazel nuts were all harvested in the valley. He also indicated that the Saskatoon berry was gathered there and dried for later use, generally during the winter (Wyndell Heritage Society 1986:2). In 1859, John Sullivan of the Palliser Expedition noted that the numerous swamps and sloughs south of Kootenay lake not only teemed with ducks, geese and other birds, but that:

> from these swamps also, The Kootanie Indians obtain the Klusquis ['mat' in Chinook Jargon] or thick reed, [*Phragmites communis*] which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges, and the klusquis is an article of barter with them to the other tribes, whose lands do not produce this necessary (Sullivan, in Spry 1968:483).

Around 1930, Harlan Smith recorded that the "present area of Kootenay Indians," indicating actively used sites, included several places in this region. In addition to the Reserve near Creston, Smith identified use of Kootenay Lake, opposite Kaslo, Cultus Creek, which flows into the west side of Kootenay Lake near its southern end, Procter, where the West Arm meets the lake, and Kootenay Landing, which was formerly on the south shore of the Lake, as places which were then being used by the Kutenai (H.Smith c.1930).

8.4.2. Dwellings

The Lower Kutenai had two principal types of residences, a teepee used in summer and a mat-covered long house in winter. The teepee, reflecting a Plains influence, was the universal lodging and was the summer shelter for most of the Kutenai people. It had the advantage of being able to be dismantled and packed ready to move at a moment's notice. The Kutenai teepee had a four pole base (Luke, in Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:3).

The traditional covers of the Lower Kutenai teepees were made from tule stems, sewn together with Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). Turney-High appears to have misinterpreted the information he recorded from his Lower Kutenai consultants. He emphasized that the mat covers *themselves* were made from Indian hemp, provided a detailed account of how the plant was gathered, cured and processed to make mat covers, and indicated that the mats were sewn into three belts which would go around the four-poled teepee frame (Turney-High 1941:62-63). Turney-High was so certain that this particular plant was used to make the Lower Kutenai teepee covers, and explicitly contrasted it with the Upper

Kutenai covers which were made from rush and tule (Turney-High 1941:62). It is, however, not likely that type of cover described was made with Indian hemp. Hart, Turner and Morgan questioned Turney-High's identification of the specific plant, noting that "one wonders if he is actually referring to the sewing of tule stems together to make mats" (Hart, Turner and Morgan 1980:43). This is certainly the case, as other sources record that the Lower Kutenai reportedly used a long, mat-covered lodge similar to those used by adjacent Salish groups (Brunton 1998:232). Luke referred to them as "*Klo-osques*" (Luke, in Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:3). (As discussed, "*Klo-osques*" or "*Kliss-kwiss*" is actually a Chinook jargon term meaning 'mat').

The Lower Kutenai winter lodges were said to accommodate eight families. Their cover consisted of the same sewn mat covers made for the summer conical tents. When summer came, the individual families in the long house took away their portions of the cover to use on their individual tents. Turney-High noted in 1941 that "Lower Kutenai informants are not speaking from tradition regarding these long houses. The older ones have not only seen them in use but under construction as well" (Turney-High 1941:64).

Evidence as to whether or not the Lower Kutenai built semi-subterranean pit houses is contradictory. Turney-High recorded that "since it is known that some peoples on the Plateau formerly utilized the subterranean, or semi-subterranean lodge, information was sought on this point. The use of the trait was specifically denied by all informants" (Turney-High 1941:64). On the other hand, Chief Chris Luke, apparently on the basis of information obtained from his uncle, stated that "Some of the members of the Kootenay Tribe built pit houses circular in shape. These pit homes were 3' to 6' in depth with an average diameter of 30' depending on the size of the tribe or family" (Luke in Wynndel Heritage Group 1986:3). While Turney-High elicited his information from older people, his information from Creston Lower Kutenai sources is thin, and Chief Luke's information is from a Creston Lower Kutenai source.[23]

8.4.3 Social And Political Organization

Kutenai social organization revolved around the extended household. Each household, led by the oldest, most experienced man, would share a single lodge and fire, and would co-operate economically. The household consisted of a man and woman of the grandparental generation, their unmarried children, their married daughters (and their in-marrying husbands and children), and, occasionally, a married son and his family (Brunton 1998:226).

Several descriptive accounts have been made of Kootenai kinship practices (Chamberlain 1893; Sapir 1918; Boas 1919; Turney-High 1941; Lindburg 1962). However, as Brunton (1998:227) notes, these accounts are so different that it is difficult to know exactly what the traditional system was like. Brunton concludes that Kutenai kinship terminology is bilateral, with strong evidence of generation, gender and reciprocity being evident in the terms. No lineages or clans are present (Brunton 1998:228).

A significant distinction appears to have existed between the role of chieftainship in traditional Upper and Lower Kutenai culture.[24] Upper Kutenai chieftainship was heavily influenced by Plains cultural practices. The Lower Kutenai culture was more reflective of "the closer knit social organization of the west" (Turney-High 1941:146). Apparently, women were not allowed to become chiefs among any of the Kutenai groups (Chamberlain 1893:556).

The Tobacco Plains band consultants told Turney-High that as theirs was the oldest of the

Kutenai bands, their chief was traditionally the "High Chief" of all the Kutenai bands.[25] No other Kutenai bands recognized this seniority however, and maintained that each band chief was considered to be equal in rank (Turney-High 1941:153).[26] Ultimately, Turney-High's assessment of this discrepancy stated that:

> There was some shadowy recognition of a head chief of all the Kutenai, but since this was so long ago its memory is very vague and of doubtful antiquity. Band independence is a mark of the Plateau, and certainly was a Kutenai fact. But there survives at Tobacco Plains a clear impression that their chief was head chief, but in practical matters they do not claim much for such primacy. Yet when there was a movement over the mountains to the Plains, other Kutenai who joined the party were considered under the leadership of the Chief of Tobacco Plains, even though they were chiefs at home (Turney-High 1941:150-151).

The Upper Kutenai considered their War Chief ("*gwának'na'miq*") to be their head chief. Nominally, this chief was not formally chosen, for the ideal candidate, the warrior with the strongest military prowess and magic, would be obvious to all and would be proclaimed following the death of the old chief. In practise, Kutenai chieftainship was weakly hereditary, and a dying chief would often appoint one of his sons to succeed him.[27] The Upper Kutenai had a council charged with making the appointment of the Chief. Power in the council was reportedly largely wielded by the shamans, who would name the warrior with the strongest powers[28] (Turney-High 1941:147).

Other types of leadership positions also existed within Kutenai society. The War Chief's influence over most matters of everyday life was slight. The role of "band administrator," the Guide Chief or Economic Chief ("*ya'ka'sɪn*") was chosen on the basis of intelligence and experience, rather than war honour. And each Upper Kutenai band had a hunting chief ("*kɛnɛmna'łka*") whose authority was confined to the communal hunt (Turney- High 1941:148). The Plains influence was apparent in the presence of honorary chiefs, who gained their status by "counting coups" in battle, and who constituted the "band council" (Turney-High 1941:149).

Lower Kutenai chiefs were elected, not hereditary. The Lower Kutenai did not confer honorary chieftainships. Nevertheless, heredity seems to have played some part.[29] Chamberlain (1893:556) recorded that the man who was entitled "by right" to the chieftainship of the Lower Kutenai had declined the position, stating that since the wars were over and the buffalo were all dead there was nothing left for a chief to do.[30] Apparently, Kutenai chiefs were not identified by distinctive insignia, as was practised by some other Plateau groups (Ray 1939:21-22). Turney-High recorded five separate elective chieftainships being present in each of the lower Kutenai Villages. As was the case in Upper Kutenai society, the War Chief was the most distinguished warrior, but in Lower Kutenai society he was considered to be a subordinate of the Band Chief. The Band Chief had the responsibility or ensuring that everyone in the village was cared for, and in addition, was the village's religious leader, holding the office of Sun Dance chief. Three separate economic chiefs — the Fish Chief, the Deer Chief and the Duck Chief — also existed, reflecting the need to co-ordinate the communal food gathering activities practised by the Lower Kutenai (Turney-High 1941:152-153).

8.4.4 Demography

Estimates of the Kutenai population in the late 18th and 19th centuries vary significantly. The early 19th-century Kutenai population figures reflect the great population decline that took place in the late 18th century epidemics. The early ethnohistoric recording of Kutenai population numbers may be less reliable than their Lakes *(sngaytskstx)* equivalents. This has nothing to do with the accuracy of the people doing the recording; some of the sources are in fact the same. Rather, the problem reflects the fact that the Kutenai were dispersed into a larger number of separate and scattered bands, making early assessments of their population correspondingly more difficult. Many of the Kutenai population estimates do not differentiate between Upper and Lower Kutenai, although several of the more important do, notably Work (1830) and Wilson (1866).

David Thompson's manuscript journals estimated that around 1810, the Kutenai population included "140 men of families" (Thompson 1810, cited in Chance 1981:22). In 1827, John Dease estimated that the tribe included "150 men," which again, refers to heads of families, and not the entire population (Dease 1827). Both of these figures (if they were intended to refer to both the Upper and Lower Kutenai) are slightly less than the figures recorded by John Work in 1830. As we noted previously, Work is considered to have been an exceptionally keen observer of Natives in this region. Work's estimates, which were based on information provided by chiefs, indicated a total population for both groups of 630 people. Work, unlike Thompson and Dease, made separate estimates for the Upper and Lower Kutenai. According to Work, the population of the "*Callesouilk*" [Upper Kutenai] was 91 men, and 349 total. The population of the "*Silaquilaque*" [Lower Kutenai] was 91 men, and 281 total (Work 1830).

Work's estimation of Kutenai population also appears to be more precise than the estimates made in the approximately thirty years following. The ethnohistoric estimates of Kutenai population in the mid-19th century following Work are generally considered to be quite rough. Hale's 1841 estimate of the "*Kitunaha*, or *Coutanies*, or Flat-bows" was 400 in total (Hale 1846:204-205). Warre and Vavasour's 1845 estimate for "*Kootoonais*, several tribes," was 235 Upper Kutenai and 212 Lower Kutenai, for a total of 447 (Warre and Vavasour 1845). George Gibbs' 1853 estimate was 400 for the "*Cootenays* and Flatbows" combined (Gibbs 1853, In, Stevens 1855). Estimates of 1000 were made by the missionary Jean DeSmet (1863:104), and the trader David Linklater (Thibodo 1940:329). In 1866, Captain Charles Wilson provided separate estimates for the Upper and Lower Kutenai, indicating that the population of the Upper Kutenai was about 450, and the Lower Kutenai 200 (Wilson 1866:304). The low end of these estimates is between 400 and 500 people for both Upper and Lower Kutenai combined. The high end is about 1000.

The ethnohistoric references to the total Kutenai population in the early historic period thus vary between 400 and 1000. Some of the ethnographic recordings of population counts are considerably higher. Curtis recorded that "the belief of the better-informed among them, based on tradition, is that at the beginning of the historical period they numbered seven hundred lodges, or about five thousand persons" (Curtis 1911:120). Turney-High's reference to population is brief. He stated that "the Kutenai now number over a thousand, just a little under one fourth their former strength" (Turney-High 1941:122).[31] As a reflection of Kutenai population at the beginning of the historic period, these ethnographic

estimates are not consistent with the recorded ethnohistoric estimates. Nor are they consistent with Mooney's ethnographic estimate of a pre-epidemic 1780 population of 1,200 (Mooney 1928:27). If Thompson's estimation that three-fifths of the population was killed by the initial epidemic is utilized, Mooney's pre-contact estimation of 1,200 would result in a post-epidemic population of approximately 480, which is a little low, but still not inconsistent with the recorded ethnohistoric data. If Boyd's (1985) calculation that one-third of the population was decimated by disease is used, then the post-epidemic population in the 1780s would be approximately 800, which is also consistent with the recorded ethnohistoric data.

8.4.5 Religion

The search for and interaction with guardian spirits was also the core of Kutenai religious life (Turney-High 1941:170).The Kutenai also believed that guardian spirits could come from almost any source (Ray 1942:234).

Most boys and some girls would be sent out on a vision quest (Ray 1942:235; Schaeffer 1935, in Brunton 1998:230). Both Turney-High (1941:170) and Brunton (1998:230) recorded that the child would first be sent out at about the age of seven, although occasionally he or she would not be sent out until adolescence. Ray was told that ten was the minimum age for Kutenai vision questers (Ray 1942:235).Among the Kutenai, adolescence was the last period in one's life at which one could attract a spirit, as after that time a person lost the ritual quality thought necessary to attract a guardian spirit (Turney-High 1941:170; Brunton 1998:230). The quester was also expected to go naked (Ray 1942:235; Brunton 1998:230). This is because the spirits are "wild," want things completely natural, and will not come to the quester if anything is worn, even something as small as a ring (Brunton 1998:230). Questers were sent to a specific named place (Ray 1942:235; Brunton 1998:230). They were given symbols to carry and were very likely given an object to deposit at the site (Ray 1942:235). Appropriate sites used by the Kutenai included bodies of water, mountain, caves in mountains, unfrequented regions and prairie, as well as places generally thought to be the locale of specific spirits (Ray 1942:236). Typically, these quests lasted anywhere between 24 hours and 7 days (Ray 1942:236), with the youth going out on the quest at night (Brunton 1998:230). Sometimes, during the quest, the youth was expected to keep alert, dive in water, take regular sweatbaths, and fast (Ray 1942:237). Other times the youth was expected to simply fast, sit quietly, and await the coming of a spirit (Brunton 1998:230).

If a spirit appeared, it would appear to the individual in a dream or vision. The spirits generally appeared to the Kutenai in their animal form, except for "Old Man," who was the "chief of the spirits" (Ray 1942:237; Turney-High 1941:170). A parent would very occasionally instruct a child as to what spirit should be sought (Turney-High 1941:170). One way by which an attempt to secure the desired spirit was made was by bringing a token from a relative's spirit bundle on the quest to attract the spirit (Brunton 1998:231). Ultimately, however, success in getting the spirit would depend on the good will of the spirit, and the people had very little control over which spirit would come to a child, what power was given, or the strength of the power (Turney-High 1941:170; Ray 1942:238; Brunton 1998:230-231). Spirits could each give a range of types and amounts of power, although each was known for giving a certain kind of power in the greatest amount (Schaeffer 1935, in Brunton 1998:231; Brunton 1998:231). Revelation of the power was very restricted (although the father or proctor

would know if a power was received without being told). An infraction would cause a loss of the power, punishment or even death (Ray 1942:238). An individual's power, would however be made obvious by his accomplishments (Ray 1942:238).

The Kutenai believe that adults and children have a soul, which is responsible for animating the body (Ray 1942:232). The soul departs at death. One account has the soul wending its way to the west, to return from the east at the end of the world (Curtis 1911:127; Schaeffer 1935, in Brunton 1998:231). Another account has the disembodied soul hovering about the village, waiting for a baby to be born, so it can inhabit it and begin another life (Brunton 1998:231). This spirit land of the dead was similar to earth, but was more pleasant (Ray 1942:233).

The Kutenai did not observe the winter spirit dance celebrated by the Salish peoples (Ray 1942:248; Brunton 1998:231). They did, however, observe other important religious ceremonials. One was the Blanket Dance, essentially a ceremonial meeting with various spirits in order to seek assistance from them. It was conducted by two or three "blanket" shamans. Two blankets skewered together were suspended opposite a doorway facing east. The lodge was darkened, and a juniper smudge was made, with the smoke intended to fill the lodge. Spirit songs were then sung to summon spirits, one at a time, behind the blanket. The spirits were offered tobacco, and were asked questions by the participants. The answers would be interpreted by one of the shamans (Brunton 1998:231).

The Sun Dance ceremony, which was likely introduced from the plains, was also practised by the Kutenai. The Kutenai version of this ceremony was a modified form of the rite practised on the Plains, which did not involve mutilation or self torture (Turney-High 1941:178; Olsen 1998:553). Only one dance was held a year, in the spring. The dance was celebrated by the Lower Kutenai, as well as by the Upper, and was particularly important because it brought the Upper and Lower Kutenai together (Schaeffer 1935, in Brunton 1998:231; Turney-High 1941:178). The dance lasted seven days altogether and was comprised of three days and nights of actual dancing with four other days interspersed for rest and praying (Turney-High 1941:183-184).

The Kutenai also practised a Grizzly Bear dance, a prayer for plenty that was celebrated in the spring, with the spirit of the bear present during the ceremony (Turney-High 1941:105, 184-185). The Bluejay dance, a nighttime ceremony with power demonstrations, predictions of the future, and spiritual healing, was recorded by Brunton (1998:231) as a traditional Kutenai ceremony. Turney-High, however, was told that the Bluejay dance was a more recent import from the Flathead — the Kutenai recognized the Bluejay dance as being powerful, but they did not practice it themselves until about 1910 (Turney-High 1941:188). Ray also recorded that the Bluejay complex was not practised by the Kutenai (Ray 1942:251).

The sweatlodge, and the sweatlodge ceremony, were of considerable religious significance to the Kutenai. The Kutenai used the Plains type of sweathouse, with a bent willow frame (Ray 1942:180; Turney-High 1941:64). The sweathouse was considered a deity, prayed to and called great-grandfather (Ray 1942:181) One prayed in the lodge, sang his songs and looked forward to having a medicine experience (Turney-High 1941:177). Sweating was always followed by a plunge in cold water. All the sweat houses were communally used (Ray 1942:181).

KALISPEL

8.5.1 Subsistence: Hunting

Hunting was much more important to the Kalispel than to neighbouring groups like the Spokane and Colville who enjoyed easier and more abundant access to salmon (A.Smith 1950:81).

A good Kalispel trapper might have a hundred traps scattered over a territory of fifteen to thirty miles. Such a traditional trap line was considered to belong to that trapper (for trapping purposes) and no one else would trap there (A.Smith 1950:76-77).

Deadfalls, usually set up to have a log fall upon the animal, were used to catch small fur-bearing animals, including marten, fisher, mink, weasel, ermine, wolverine, cougar, lynx, and possibly fox (A.Smith 1950:64).[32] The size of the deadfall trap varied depending on what particular type of fur-bearer was sought. Larger deadfalls were also used to trap black bear a long time ago, but not grizzly bear, which were much too strong to trap. Even adult black bears would be strong enough to destroy the trap (A.Smith 1950:64-65; 70). Deadfalls were not used to get deer, elk or caribou (A.Smith 1950:65). Muskrats were not caught in deadfalls, but were dragged from their holes in summer and killed with a club (A.Smith 1950:229). Most rabbits were killed with bow and arrow, but they were also snared with nooses (A.Smith 1950:242).

Mule and white-tailed deer were the most important mammals hunted by the Kalispel (A.Smith 1950:149). Most deer were killed in the winter, when the meat could be dried to last until the next summer. In the winter, when snow was deep they were chased down by hunters on snowshoes and killed with a knife, by breaking its neck, or occasionally, with bow and arrow (A.Smith 1950:161). Most of these winter drives were collective hunts, involving all the able males of the winter encampment; they would last for three to four weeks, but would usually be limited to within eight to ten miles of the encampment (A.Smith 1950: 181). Deer were also driven into the water with dogs or fire, and were shot or speared by hunters in canoes (A.Smith 1950:164). Fire surrounds were only used in late summer, before the rainy season, when the grass was driest. The use of this technique involved a collective hunt, supervised by a specialist hunter. About one-tenth of all deer killed were taken by this method (A.Smith 1950:168-172). Another collective hunting technique involved driving the deer over cliffs in late fall or early winter. The Kalispel do not seem to have used this technique much, because only a limited number of deer roamed the cliff regions of their territory. The technique does not appear to have been practised more recently than the late 18th century (A.Smith 1950:176- 178). Deer were stalked at berry patches and salt licks (the latter only at night) (A.Smith 1950:152-154). Hunters also tried to call deer by imitating the sound of bucks during the mating season (A.Smith 1950:158) or the sound of a fawn, either by mouth or by blowing into a cottonwood leaf fixed in a stick frame (A.Smith 1950:155-156). Large numbers of deer were also caught with snares suspended in opening in brush fences where they crossed deer trails (A.Smith 1950:183-184).

Caribou were also numerous in Lower Kalispel country. Hunters stalked them and shot them with arrows. Caribou were driven by groups of hunters during the winter; dogs were never used, since the caribou would not run from a barking dog. Sometimes they were attracted by mimicking their calls during the mating season, and the call did not have to be as skilful to deceive a caribou as one had to be to deceive a deer

(A.Smith 1950:216-218). Elk appear to have been rare in Kalispel country (A.Smith 1950:221-224), and moose were rarer still (A.Smith 1950:228).

The Kalispel tried to stalk mountain sheep during their fall mating season by following the loud booming sound made by fighting rams butting heads, and then sneaking up on them and shooting them with arrows. At other times of year, they were stalked in the same way as deer, particularly by staking out licks (A.Smith 1950:233-234).The Kalispel also hunted mountain goats, stalking them with bow and arrow. They did not use the technique used by the *sngaytskstx* of prying them off cliffs with long poles (A.Smith 1950:240).

Many more bears were killed with the bow and arrow than were caught in traps. They were generally killed when they were hibernating in winter, or when they were feeding on pussy willow catkins in the spring, and (especially) in berry patches in summer (A.Smith 1950:70; 109). Hibernating bears would be lured or smoked out of their dens to be shot (A.Smith 1950:115). In the early spring, bears were hunted with dogs, which would run down the bear and hold him at bay until the hunter could shoot him (A.Smith 1950:122). Sometimes bears were attracted by the hunter imitating the cry of a cub (A.Smith 1950:134).

Some families would go to the plains in summer to get buffalo, but most of the Kalispel did not go on this hunt (A.Smith 1950:203).

Beaver were shot in the water with bow and arrow when they came up to breathe at their special holes in the ice. In the summer, beaver were obtained by tearing down their houses and killing them with clubs, after their lakes had been drained (A.Smith 1950:202). Marmots were only killed with bow and arrow, and then only with common arrows, since hunters considered headed arrows too valuable to risk being broken by being shot into the marmots' rocky habitat (A.Smith 1950:248).

Larger birds such as grouse, pheasant and partridge were commonly snared, but were also killed by bow and arrow. Waterfowl such as duck, geese and swans were shot with bow and arrow; the Kalispel did not catch them with nets. Smaller birds were shot by boys for sport (A.Smith 1950:83-98).

Fishing

Many fish have been recorded as being important to the Kalispel, including char, chub, shiners, squawfish, suckers, trout, whitefish and "goldfish," a very small, herring-like fish (Lahren 1998:286; A.Smith 1950:395). The only place in what the Kalispel considered to be their traditional territory were salmon could be taken was on the Salmo River, and salmon appears to have been the only fish that the Kalispel took at this place. The fishing area on the Salmo was known by a more general Kalispel term *"sx̣ni'tᵊkʷɪ"* (*"ax̣ni'tᵊkʷɪ"*) which means 'falls; rapids.' The Kalispel fished salmon on the Salmo in July, after the camas was dug, and again, in September, when the salmon were spawning (A.Smith 1950:331-333).The same type of salmon was caught here in both July and September, the difference being that the September fish had spawned. Only a few Kalispel families normally travelled to the Salmo, and then only at most infrequent intervals (A.Smith 1950:14).

The technology used by the Kalispel to take these fish on the Salmo varied between July and September. Allan Smith recorded that:

> In mid-summer (July) salmon were speared in the Salmo River with the two-pronged wɛ'eč spear, when the river was so shallow that it could easily be forded. And again in September when the river was / still /

> low, they were impaled with this device from the bank or by wading into the stream. At this latter season the fish were spawning, and, having completed their mission were drifting downstream fatigued and dying. On another occasion it is stated that these fish were speared in the deep holes where there were 3 or 4 feet of water (A.Smith 1950:331-333).

Smith also recorded that "in September, when the salmon were descending the Salmo River after spawning,[33] the Lower Kalispel built a stranding trap (*ṗene'pᶜ*) for them there" (A.Smith 1950: 354). This device was not used in the summer, only in the fall. Sherwood, one of Smith's principal Kalispel consultants, indicated that he had personally seen this trap on the Salmo River (A.Smith 1950:354). The trap was described as follows:

> From each bank of the stream, a deflecting wall, 30 or 40 yards long, was constructed of piled rocks. Together they formed a /narrow 'v point downstream, each arm forming but a slight angle with the bank to prevent the water and fish from piling up against it and passing over it. At the apex of the V was left an opening, 6 or 8 feet wide, where a flat frame of woven sticks was placed. This platform measured about 6 by 20 feet. Its warps consisted of sticks, 1½ inches in diameter, of tamarack, blackpine (lodgepole pine), young fir, or perhaps of still other kinds woven together, wicker-work fashion, with wafts every 5 or 6 inches of willow bark, or if that were scarce, of cedar inner bark. . . The platform was constructed in two separate pieces. The upstream segment, the shorter of the two, was placed with its upstream end on the river bottom, and its lower end on a log which extended between the ends of the stone dams. The upper end of the longer downstream section was then laced to the lower end of the upper one with willow or cedar bark / cord/. . . So that the fish would not fall off, a 1 foot strip along the two sides of the platform was bent sharply upward at a 45° angle...
>
> Immediately against the lower edge of the downstream segment of this fish platform was built a second platform 3 feet square. Four poles were erected, one at each corner, and were connected with two horizontal poles. Sticks were then placed from one horizontal pole to the other to form a platform, about 1 feet above the water.
>
> The procedure called for all the men who were around at the time to wade down the stream from above, scaring the fish into the V to be stranded on the platform as the water fell through it. Dogs were not used to assist the driving and no shouting was necessary, for the salmon were "wild." Actually the fish, on their way downstream, would have stranded themselves in given time, but the men were in a hurry. Meanwhile one man — the platform was not large enough for more — sat on the separate small platform below the fish one and killed the fish as they became stranded, using a club... (A.Smith 1950:354-355).

This appears to have been the only type of trap used on the Salmo River. Smith compiled a listing of Lower Kalispel brush or stick weirs (A.Smith 1950:283-287; 290-293), but this list did not include any weirs in the vicinity of the Salmo. However, Smith did record that large two-pronged, barbed fish spears which were used for thrusting only were used by the Lower Kalispel in securing salmon on the Salmo River in summer and fall (A.Smith 1950: 316). These spears were larger than similar ones used for trout, squawfish, suckers, or other smaller fish. Smith also recorded that salmon were also speared under the light of torches in the Salmo River (A.Smith 1950:325).[34]

8.5.2 Dwellings

The Kalispel also used conical mat lodges, similar to the *sngaytskstx* and the Kutenai, particularly for winter dwellings. But the Kalispel did not use the semi-subterranean or subterranean pit houses that the *sngaytskstx* and other Native peoples living west of the Kalispel employed.[35] Nor did they build hide lodges. The Kalispel's mobile housing was the round teepee, which was variously made of tule, bark and hide. Some Kalispel people lived in these as winter residences as well.

The conical mat lodge was very commonly used among the Kalispel. Although this type of structure fell out of use among those Plateau groups who travelled extensively on the Plains, and who adopted the hide teepee because it was more mobile, the Kalispel continued to use the mat lodge even after they adopted the hide teepee for other types of accommodation (Teit 1930b:332). They continued to use it until about 1900 (A.Smith 1986:178). The mat lodge may, in early times, have been used as a summer dwelling (Teit 1930b:332). However, Kalispel people interviewed in the 1930s recalled that the mat lodge was used exclusively as a winter residence. Its floor was excavated to a depth of about one foot, and was then covered with bark or mats (Lahren 1998:288). The size of the structure depended on the number of people whom it was intended to house. The length would be controlled by the number of pairs of poles that would be used to support the structure's sides. If two pairs were used, the dwelling could house from two to four families. A three-pair lodge could house four families. A four-pair lodge, the largest known to early 20th century Kalispel people, could be large enough to shelter up to eight families. A four-pair lodge would have an inside length of at least 25 to 35 feet, and an external length of 35 to 45 feet — the difference representing storage space within the lodge which reduced the amount of floor space (A.Smith 1986:174).

The framing poles themselves were made of fir or pine, and were 20 feet or more in length (A.Smith 1986:174). The pole pairs that supported the side of the structure were tied together in pairs with twisted twig lashings, so that about 8 inches of their tips would project above the ridge opening. When two pairs were used, they would be separated by about 16 to 18 feet, when three were used, they would be eight to fourteen feet apart, and when four pairs were used they were spaced about eight to ten feet apart. Between the two members of each pair of poles, a horizontal cross-piece was lashed using the same twig cordage. Poles were then bound horizontally to the outside of these support pairs to form a side frame. These poles were only long enough to stretch between the framing poles, and were affixed from frame pole to frame pole in such a way that each layer of mats would be supported by three poles — one at the top, middle and bottom. They were also tied to the framing poles with twig bindings (A.Smith 1986:174-175).

Once this central portion of the frame structure was built, the ends were constructed, in

the same way. About ten poles would be placed around each end, with their tops resting in the apex of the end pair of side poles, and with their bases enclosing a semi-circular area. The two poles in the middle of each end would form the door sides (there was always one door in each end) and would be thicker than the rest. The end poles were lashed to the end pair of main-frame side poles, in the crossing of which the upper ends rested. Small limbs about 1 inch in diameter were placed horizontally around the end poles and were bound in place with twisted twig tyings (A.Smith 1986:175-176).

Tule mats were used to cover this frame. The mats used in this dwelling were much larger than those used in the summer conical dwellings; they were five or six feet wide (the length of the reeds) and sewn into strips from 15 to 20 feet long. The bottom row of mats would be three or four mats thick. The middle row — or two middle rows in the case of a four-pair lodge — was two mats deep, and the top row was only one mat thick. They were tied into place, usually with Indian hemp cord, and very occasionally with twine made from the inner layer of cedar bark. Each mat in the outer layer was lashed into place every three or four inches to prevent sagging. The inner mats were bound to the frame at about four places along its upper edge and three along its centre line. The bottom row of mats extended down inside the foot-deep depression in the earth. Cedar bark was usually placed between the earth and the mats, to keep out the draft. Cattail mats were used to cover the doors in each end of the structure, because they were more durable than the tule mats, which would not stand up to more active use (A.Smith 1986:176-177; Ray 1942:175).

Within the lodge, two storerooms were located at each end, on each side of each central entranceway. Its maximum length was about four or five feet. Their walls were constructed of split wood, split sticks or poles (but not tule, which would not keep out dogs). The living area of the lodge itself was kept open, without mats or other types of partitions. An open central earthen walkway, 5 feet wide, ran the length of the lodge from one inner door to the other. The fires were kindled on this strip (and a smoke hole about one foot wide ran above it the length of the lodge, which was never covered even when it rained or was cold) (A.Smith 1986:177-178).

The Kalispel also constructed similar types of lodges which were covered with bark rather than tule mats. This type of lodge was used in both winter and summer long ago, but was said to be especially favoured in warm weather in the spring and summer because it required less labour to build (Teit 1930b:332-333; A.Smith 1986:179).This lodge usually housed two families, although it could accommodate more. It was shorter and narrower than the tule lodge, being from about 10 to 20 feet long, and the frame consisted of only one pair of poles at either end, never more. The frame was covered with long strips of bark. Cedar was certainly the preferred bark, although whether other types of bark like tamarack and white pine bark also appear to have been used (Teit 1930b:333; A.Smith 1986:180). The bark strips were about 8 feet long and 2.5 feet wide, and were attached to the framing vertically, with its outer surface on the outside of the dwelling. Usually only one layer of bark was used, although winter lodges sometimes had two. The bark was bound to each horizontal frame pole, probably in three places, at each end and in the middle, with strips of inner cedar bark. Two large horizontal poles were also attached outside the bark to "pinch' the slabs in place. One over the upper end of the strip and one over the lower, with both being immediately opposite the middle horizontal frame pole. Some bark lodges were built with a doorway at one end, and others had

them at both ends. Food storerooms were located at each end of the structure, like in the tule lodge (A.Smith 1986:179-181).

Sometimes lean-tos were used as summer dwellings for single families. The Kalispel did not build long, multiple-family lean-tos such as those inhabited during the salmon season at Kettle Falls. The ends of the lean-to were enclosed, and it was covered with cedar, tamarack or pine bark, or with tule mats (A.Smith 1986:181-182; Ray 1942:179).

The Kalispel reportedly built long lodges long ago in their largest winter camps, but did not use them as dwellings, only for dancing (Teit 1930b:332).

Mat lodges were also commonly used among the Kalispel, in winter as well as in summer. The tule mat teepee, when used as a winter dwelling, was placed within an excavated circular pit from five inches to a foot deep. The width of this circle varied depending on the number of people who were to occupy it. A circle 10 feet in diameter would be used for a shelter for a couple of people; 12-15 feet would be used for a structure designed for a large family and 15-18 feet would be considered a very large winter teepee, which could be occupied by up to three families, or about 18 people (A.Smith 1986:161, 167).

Three poles, about 14 or 15 feet long, were always used as the foundation. Lodgepole pine was preferred because of its slenderness, but fir, cedar, ponderosa pine or other wood might be used if necessary. Holes four or five inches deep were dug inside the circumference of the pit for the bases of these poles. The poles were positioned so two would form the sides of the door and the third would be directly in the back. They were bound together just below their tips with twisted twig lashings, so that the ends extended above the teepee top for a foot or two. Other, smaller poles were placed, about 1.5 feet apart, against the upper crossing point of the foundation poles. As many as 20 of these might be used. Their butts were placed in the perimeter of the depression, but no holes were dug for them, and their upper ends were not tied into place, but simply inclined into position. A series of narrow poles, about an inch or less in diameter, and green enough to permit bending, were then bound horizontally around the outside of this cone of poles, and was tied in places with twisted twig lashing or strips of inside cedar bark. About 10 of these ringing poles would be used, placed 1 to 2 feet apart (A.Smith 1986:161-162).

The tule mat covering would then be tied to the framework. Three or four rows of mats tied together would be used, the length depending on their location on the teepees. Mats on the bottom row would be sewn into a 12-15 foot long strip, while the top row would need to be only 6 or 7 feet long. The mats were the same width as those used on the lodges, about 5 or 6 feet, which reflected the length of the tule stems. The lowest row would consist of three or four layers of mats, the middle row or rows of two layers each, and the top row of but a single layer (to permit smoke to escape more readily). At the top of the teepee, a foot-wide opening also allowed smoke to escape, and, like the opening in the lodges, was not covered in bad weather (A.Smith 1986:162-163). The entranceway was covered by a hanging mat, made of either tule and cattail leaves, or cattail leaves and stems. Immediately inside the entrance were two storage areas, separated from the dwelling space by a cattail or wiregrass mat (A.Smith 1986:165). Regardless of the number of families in the dwelling, only one central fire was used (A.Smith 1986:167).

The summer version of the tule teepee was structurally somewhat simpler, and was lighter and more mobile. It was not erected inside a depression. Instead the ground surface was smoothed by levelling off the bumps and filling in

the low places with fir boughs. Two layers of mats were usually used on the lower two mat rows, and a single strip on the upper row. Fewer horizontal rings would have been used, since the use of fewer mats and the absence of snow accumulations reduced the need for frame supports. No storerooms were constructed in the warm weather tule teepee (A.Smith 1986:168).

Bark covered teepees are known to have been used by the Kalispel but this use was very rare. Constructing them required too much work, more than the tule teepee and even more than the long bark lodge. Bark covered teepees were only rarely built in winter, and only if no tules were available. They were used relatively more often in the summer, because they were comparatively cool inside. Bark teepees were sometimes built at each end of a trapping line, and used in the fall and winter; they could be re-used year after year. The only type of bark used in their construction was cedar, which was peeled from the trees in spring and summer. The teepee was erected over a three pole foundation, which was like the tule-mat teepee, except that more horizontal rings — four or five — would be required to hold the bark strips in place. In winter, two layers of bark would be used. The holes in the bark would be filled in with a sort of camas paste, which was very sticky and impervious to rainwater (A.Smith 1986:168-169).

Hide teepees were also used by those Kalispel who went buffalo hunting on the Plains. These teepees were also used by them in Kalispel country, typically when travelling during the summer. They appear to have gradually displaced the tule-covered teepee (Lahren 1998: 288). Hide teepees were never used as winter dwellings. Elk and buffalo skins were the only ones known to have been used, with buffalo being the more common after its introduction from the Prairies. Before the introduction of buffalo skins, elk had been used, principally because its hide was not durable enough for other uses. Elk hide teepees were never as common as tule ones however, even in the old days. In cutting and sewing the skins into covers, two strips were fashioned to go up the front of the dwelling, and two straight strips up the back. Two skin surfaces, each in right triangle shape and the two sewed together into an isosceles triangle, comprised each side of the teepee cover. The three pole foundation was always used with this type of teepee, and no horizontal rings were used. One of the distinguishing features of this teepee was its "ears" — the corners of the two hide strips — which ran vertically up the front of the structure. These ears were controlled by a pole, and by altering their position, the flow of air out of the teepee was regulated, and it could be closed when the wind was strong or when it rained (A.Smith 1986:170-171).

We are not aware of any explicit information having been recorded about what type of dwellings Kalispel people lived in when they went to the Salmo River. However, given the difficult nature of the journey to the Salmo, and the very short-term nature of their stay there, their accommodations would have been temporary ones. The recorded information about the journey of Kalispel people back from these fishing grounds indicates that they were fully loaded with fish. They had no capacity to carry any type of dwelling components; even the cedar shafts from their spears were not brought back, but were left behind in the trees for use the following year (A.Smith 1950: 374, 376-377).

In the summer, when the Kalispel went on short trips of several days duration, they would sometimes not live in a structure at all, but simply sleep beneath a sheltering tree, although they might build a simple bark or bough-covered lean-to against a large boulder, tree or log. Such a lean-

to would always be made late in the fall (A.Smith 1986:182).

Several types of Kalispel temporary shelters have also been recorded. In one type, constructed in late fall, three poles were leaned against a tree trunk. Cross-pieces were tied across them to hold them together, and to form the roof frame. The structure was covered with pine bark, if it was easily available, or balsam-fir boughs (which were the only branches that shed water) (A.Smith 1986:182).

Another type of Kalispel temporary shelter was built in summer, when a storm seemed imminent, and in the winter. Poles were laid in the same way as the first lean-to. Then upon these, cross-poles were laid, untied, parallel to the log and covered with bark, or boughs, if bark was unavailable. An even simpler type of emergency shelter was made by leaning a large piece of bark against the log and crawling beneath it (A.Smith 1986:182).

8.5.3 Social And Political Organization

The meaningful political unit of the Kalispel, like other Plateau people, was the individual village or clusters of villages, which formed named communities or "bands" under the direction of a "chief." Larger tribal political development was a later, postcontact phenomenon (Ray 1936:11-112; Anastasio 1972:180, 182, 191, Lahren 1998:288). Teit recorded, in a discussion of the broader group of Interior Salish that he termed the "Flathead Group," that "there are traces of groupings of some of the bands in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel" (Teit 1930b:374). Ray also included the Kalispel among Native groups who had a weakly developed broader group feeling above the village level, and attributed this intra-village organization to the indirect influence of the Plains (Ray 1939:14).[36] The Lower Kalispel and Upper Kalispel thus likely had their own separate chiefs and assistant chiefs (Teit 1930b:374; Chalfant 1974a: 214-215; Lahren 1998:288), but there is no evidence that Upper and Lower Kalispel were ever united in one broader political unit traditionally. Teit noted in one instance that "the Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief and three small chiefs" (Teit 1930b: 376) but he acknowledged elsewhere that "I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel" (Teit 1930b:377). Teit's list of chiefs, which appears to encompass the entire 19th century, is as follows:

1. *Nī'wards* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came;
2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls keimi'* or *Kulkuls qaii'm* ("Red Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835;
3. *Etswi'sesom.x̣ê'* ("Standing Bear");
4. *Victor Ntsaka'lta'*, (meaning uncertain) or *Arla'mqɛn* (meaning uncertain), but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief;
5. Marcellin *Tceqq'qei* (meaning uncertain), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70 (Teit 1930b:377). [He was the eldest son of Victor (Chalfant 1974a:214).]

Women are not known to have been chiefs among the Kalispel (Teit 1930b:376; Lahren 1998:288).

Despite the absence of any political unity between the Upper and Lower Kalispel, people of either group seem to have enjoyed the right to occupy and use the land of the other (Lahren 1998:290). In turn, they do appear to have

required that non-Kalispel obtain permission from the Kalispel chief of a specific area before any resources could be taken. Ray noted that "the Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries" (Ray 1939:17).

Teit recorded that the chiefs of the Flathead group, which included the Kalispel, "had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes" (Teit 1930b:376). Still, this power came largely through influence rather than direct authority to command. Teit also noted that "the powers of the chiefs were in large measure advisory only" (Teit 1930b:374). A head chief among the Kalispel was identified by title and distinctive insignia (Ray 1939:21-22; 1942:229). The head chief was assisted by a subchief (Ray 1942:230) and lesser "small chiefs," who formed a council to discuss the group's affairs. In addition to providing advice to the chief, the subchief was said to have taken charge of part of the group if and when it divided. The "small chiefs" in turn led separate parties of the group which would be detached from the main body for subsistence activities like root-digging, berry-gathering or buffalo-hunting, with each group going to a separate locality. The small chiefs were thus of great importance in the gathering of food supplies, and the overseeing and execution of procedures for the group's maintenance and comfort, such as guarding and pasturing horses, procuring firewood and enforcing regulations on matters such as camping, fires, sanitation, scouting, positions of lodges, and the positions of groups in the camp circle (Teit 1930b:374-375).

There is some evidence that Kalispel chiefs and subchiefs led changing groups of people who used a distinct area, rather than the same body of people. As people migrated throughout the region, they would fall under the leadership of different local chiefs as they changed their area (A.Smith, in Lahren 1998:290). Teit noted that the social organization of the Kalispel and the other Flathead tribes was "in general of the same kind as that common to other Interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé and the Shoshoni" (Teit 1930b:373). Ray (1942:211) recorded that the first residence of a married couple was patrilocal, but that they would subsequently alternate between matrilocal and patrilocal residency.

8.5.4 Demography

Determining the early 19th century Kalispel population accurately is also complicated by a methodological problem, that of uncertain ethnohistoric identification. The population estimates provided by Lewis and Clark for the Kalispel are not very reliable. Some of the early 19th century sources, particularly the fur trade sources, also referred to both the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreille simply as Pend d'Oreille.

Lewis and Clark identified a group called the "*Coospellar*" Nation, who they noted were said to "reside on a river which falls into the Columbia, to the N. of Clark's river," and described it as containing 30 lodges and 1600 persons (Coues 1893:1255). The "*Coospellar*" have been identified as the Kalispel by many experts, notably by Teit (1930b:314-315), as well as in an assessment submitted to the Indian Claims Commission (Chalfant 1974a:177), and also in the recent overview of the Kalispel prepared for the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook on North American Indians: Plateau Volume* (Lahren 1998:295). Yet the Kalispel have also been identified by Boyd (1998:470) as the group Lewis and Clark called the "*Micksucksealton*,"and described as residing "on Clark's river, above the

great falls of that river, in the Rocky Mountains, and specifically at the entrance of Clark's Fork (the Pend d'Oreille) into the Columbia" (Coues 1893:1256).[37] This was recorded as a smaller group, consisting of 25 lodges and 300 persons (Coues 1893:1256). This obscurity stems in part from the fact that Lewis and Clark did not visit the Kalispel, but instead relied on information from other Natives about them and their territory. As we indicate in our discussion of Kalispel territory, the geographic associations with specific peoples made by Lewis and Clark in this area are very likely inaccurate, and the use of their population data to determine early 19th century Kalispel population seems unreliable as well.

Unfortunately, other early sources do not provide clear and reliable data on the Kalispel either. For example, John Work's 1830 populations figures identify the "*Callespelleems*" but identify them, together with the "*Sinahoughquin*" as the 2 tribes of the "Earring Indians," 'earring' of course being the English translation of the French term for these people, Pend d'Oreille. Work also noted that both these two tribes "are both termed *Callespelleem* by their neighbours." The population figure given by Work, which thus appears to include both the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreille, was 203 men, and a total population of 843 (Work 1830). Warre and Vavasour recorded that the population of the "*Kullas Palus* (Kalispelm), several tribes" was 300 (Warre and Vavasour 1845). Since no additional entry was provided for the Pend d'Oreille, it appears that they are included in the several tribes of the Kalispel.

Father de Smet, who visited the Kalispel several times in the early 1840s, gave what we believe to be the first clear identification of Kalispel population. De Smet made a distinction between "the Upper Kalispels or Pend d'Oreilles" who from the description of their territory as well as their name are clearly Pend d'Oreille, and the "Lower Kalispels," or Kalispel. De Smet said that the population of both groups was around 600 each (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:III:995). An even larger number appears to have been recorded in 1849 by Joseph Lane, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory. Lane indicated that his tribal information was actually gathered by Robert Newell, a subagent, who had been in the area since 1829 and spoke several Indian languages reasonably well (Lane 1849:127). Lane reported that the "*Calespelin* Indians are in two bands" and numbered about 450 warriors and a total population of 1200 (Lane 1849:128). This figure appears to have been exclusive as the Pend d'Oreille, as a separate figure, also of 450 warriors and 1200 total population, was given for the "*Ponderas*, or *Squeailps*" who were said to live in the country east of Fort Colvile (Lane 1849) although the misidentification of the Pend D'Oreille as "Squeailps" that is, *sx̱weyíʔlhp* or Colville suggests the possibility of an error in the reference. In 1851, Anson Dart, who had replaced Lane as Oregon Indian Superintendent, reported that the population of the "Upper Pond Orrilles" was 480, and the population of the "Lower Pond Orrilles" [likely the Kalispel] was 520 (Dart 1851:216). George Suckley, who visited Kalispel territory in 1853, said that the Kalispel numbered about 100 lodges divided into two groups, with 60 lodges having their headquarters around the Missions and along the Pend d'Oreille River below the lake, and 40 lodges located further east, above Lake Pend d'Oreille (Suckley 1855). This is the same information contained in Governor Stevens's 1854 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Suckley is noted as a source of Kalispel information. Stevens said that "the Kalispelusses proper, Pend d'Oreilles, have Victor for their chief and have sixty lodges, or about four

hundred and twenty inhabitants," while the Upper Pend d'Oreilles consisted of 40 lodges and 280 people (Stevens 1855:210). Given that several mid-19th century sources estimated the combined Kalispel/Pend d'Oreille population in the mid-19th century, population estimates are not easily intepreted. Mooney's estimate of the combined Kalispel/Pend d'Oreille population in 1780 as 1,200 appears to be very low.

Teit concluded that while his consultants agreed that the Kalispel, like the other Salishan tribes in this region, were formerly much more numerous, he believed that even at the beginning of the 20th century it was impossible to obtain any definite estimate of the old population. The oldest estimates he was able to obtain were based on the number of lodges in winter camps around 1850, and he believed that the numbers he was given "vary so much that they are of little value." As an example, he indicated the number of Kalispel lodges in the winter village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake was said to have been not over eight some winters, as many as 15, and occasionally only two or three, or even none at all (Teit 1930b:314). Teit believed that Lewis and Clark's estimate of 1,600 for the Kalispel (using the figure given for the "*Coospellar*") was "probably much too low for the time" (Teit 1930b:314- 315). Teit's information was that while the Sahaptin-speaking tribes to their south were only lightly affected by the epidemics, the Kalispel were said to have suffered severely. Moreover, the Kalispel also suffered large losses in the wars with the Blackfeet in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Teit 1930b:315). Teit believed that the smallpox epidemics took place approximately two decades later than subsequent scholarship has been able to date with some degree of precision. He thus may have thought that Lewis and Clark's figure represented a pre-epidemic estimate, rather than a post-epidemic one. While we also consider Lewis and Clark's "Kalispel" figures too uncertain to be reliable, we would still agree with the underlying rationale behind Teit's conclusion, that the Kalispel likely experienced an unusually high rate of attrition in the late 18th and early 19th century because of the effects of disease and war. If the mid-19th century Kalispel population is assumed to have been 500-600, it appears likely that the pre-1780 population was at least double that, and possibly higher.

8.5.5 Religion

The Kalispel believed that guardian spirits could come from almost any source. These included animals, insects, birds, inanimate objects, natural phenomena such as the chinook wind, whirlwind, thunder, clouds, fire and snow, heavenly bodies and mythological characters such as dwarfs or dangerous beings (Ray 1942:234). It is likely that certain spirits were more powerful, but exactly which ones these were is no longer known (Ray 1942:234). The Kalispel believed that any spirit might convey any type of power (Ray 1942:235).

Most boys and girls would be sent out alone into the wilderness at the time of puberty to find a spirit through a vision quest, although whether or not the Kalispel also sent out girls is, according to Ray (1942:235), no longer known. They were sent to named sites, given symbols to carry and were very likely given an object to deposit at the site. These vision quest sites were especially concentrated in mountains and along rivers. Stone cairns, pictographs and petroglyphs often indicate places where questers encountered their guardian spirits (Walker and Schuster 1998:499). Among the Kalispel, typical destinations included bodies of water, mountains, an isolated sweat house or the prairie (Ray 1942:236). The spirit questers would have been prepared for their quest through training in ritual cleanliness, including fasting and

bathing, and being told by the old people of the family about the spirits, so that they might recognize them. Both overnight quests (which could be repeated until successful) and more extended quests of approximately 1 to 3 weeks in duration were used (Ray 1942:235,236). During the quest, the youth was expected to keep alert, take regular sweatbaths, make a circuit of mountain peaks on which rock piles or fires might be required to be built, and play the "stick game" with spirits. Food that was gathered could be eaten (Ray 1942:237).

If a spirit appeared, it would appear to the individual in a dream or vision, and could appear either as a human being or an animal. In this encounter, the spirit told its owner what power it was bestowing, and imparted a song and symbol connected to the power (Teit 1930b:384; Ray 1942:237). The symbol would be wrapped, kept secret and retained for life (Ray 1942:239). Often the spirit acquired would not be the one that was sought, but the recipient would have to accept it notwithstanding (Ray 1942:238). Revelation of the power was very restricted (although a shaman, or the father or proctor would know if a power was received without being told). An infraction would cause a loss of the power, or even death (Ray 1942:238). However, after the spirit returned to an individual at maturity, the spirit would become obvious at the winter dance (Ray 1942:238; 246).

The Kalispel celebrated the winter spirit dance beginning at the winter solstice, which was believed to be the time of the spirit's return. This took place in the dance house in the winter village. Individual dances could last for eight days, during which each person with a spirit participated, dancing and singing their song. Headdresses and symbolic clothing ornaments were worn (Ray 1942:249-250). The ceremonies provided opportunities for all persons with spirit power to dramatize and honour their power through the songs and dances they had received from their guardian spirits (Walker and Schuster 1998:499). The novice would take his place near the centre pole while the audience sang. This initiation ceremony was followed by spirit dancing.

The Kalispel believe that adults, children and fetuses all have a soul, which is responsible for animating the body. The soul is visible only to a shaman, and its temporary absence will cause unconsciousness (Ray 1942:232). The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs (Teit 1930b:383). This spirit land of the dead was similar to earth, but was less pleasant (Ray 1942:233). Teit reported that among the Kalispel, he found "some vague beliefs" about the return of souls (Teit 1930b:387).

Use of the sweatlodge was essential before participation in any activity associated with the spirit world. The Kalispel used the Plains type of sweathouse, with a bent willow frame (Ray 1942:180). While some sweatlodges were only large enough for one or two persons, others were large enough to accommodate large groups of 10 to 14 men (A.Smith 1986:184). It was customary for many dancers to sweat in a large sweat lodge before a winter dance (A.Smith 1986:185). The sweathouse was considered a deity, prayed to and either called grandfather (according to Ray 1942:181) or great-grandfather (A.Smith 1986:187). The Kalispel preferred to sweat before eating, and sometimes before hunting or gambling. Sweating was always followed by a plunge in cold water. All the sweat houses were communally used, and women used men's sweathouses (Ray 1942:180-182; A.Smith 1986:185).

The Kalispel had sweathouses scattered all

over their country. Any place where they stopped for a week or two, a sweathouse would be built, and constructed as carefully as their sweathouses at their winter residences, as they expected to re-use it at a later date (A.Smith 1986:185). While it is possible that the Kalispel constructed sweathouses at the Salmo River fishery, no evidence of this activity in the area has been reported.

SECTION 8.0 ENDNOTES

[1] Bonner's Ferry people told Turney-High that it required a "five-mile horse," to hunt buffalo successfully, that is, an animal that was of sufficient quality to keep the rapid pace of stampeding buffalo for five miles. Only the very richest men among the Lower Kutenai had such race horses (Turney-High 1941:36). Indeed, Turney-High was told by his Lower Kutenai consultants that "they got bad automobiles almost as soon as they acquired fine horses" (Turney-High 1941:71).

[2] The Lakes' skill at hunting is also apparent in the trading statistics kept at Fort Colville (spelled "Colvile" in earlier years), the Hudson's Bay Company post at which the Lakes regularly dealt. These records have survived for the years 1827-1828 (Work 1830) and 1830-1831 (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831). On the whole, the statistics compiled at Fort Colvile do indicate that, relative to other aboriginal groups who traded at the fort, the Lakes were very significant hunters and trappers, particularly of beaver. These statistics do not, however, indicate *where* any of the skins traded were obtained. Jason Ovid Allard, who commanded the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Shepherd (just north of the U.S. border, on the Columbia) in the late 1860s, particularly associated Chief Gregoire's tribe (the Lakes) with the post, and noted that marten, foxes, wolverine, muskrat, bear, mink, weasels and marmots were the most common pelts brought in at that time (Allard n.d.). But he did not note where the furs were taken either.

[3] Similar bear ceremonialism has also been recorded among other Okanagan-Colville groups (Teit 1930b:291; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:241).

[4] Coyotes and mountain lions were also identified as being trapped by these Arrow lakes Natives, but this trapping seems likely to have been done for predator bounties (*Rossland Miner* 1902).

[5] These Fort Colvile journals, unlike the fur traders' reports of two decades earlier which identified the "Lake" Indians as Lower Kutenai, clearly refer to the Lake(s) Indians as meaning the Arrow Lakes Indians. The Fort Colvile Journal also identified, as a *separate* group from the Lake people, the "Arc Plattes," [Flatbow] (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831) a term which was used to identify the Lower Kutenai. Moreover, the journal describes the "Lake" Indians as close friends of the Kettle Falls (Colville) Indians, which the Kutenai most certainly were not. The journal recorded that on June 28th, 1830, "the Kettle Falls and Lake Indians commenced a grand dance which is to last three days" (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831). Moreover, the journal recorded in August 1830 that the Lake Indians "have as usual passed most of the summer at the Falls." In December 1830, the journal recorded that the "Lake Indians" had intended to pass the winter at Kettle Falls, and while some of them went up the Columbia River, most of them were detained at the post because of bad weather (Heron and Kittson 1830-1831). Neither ethnographic nor ethnohistoric sources record that the Lower Kutenai customarily spent much of the summer at Kettle Falls, unlike the Arrow Lakes people, who did so regularly. John Work, in his 1830 report, also indicates that the group known as the Lake Indians were the same group known as the "*Sinaeteht*" [*sngaytskstx*] (Work 1830).

[6] The group identified in Heron and Kittson's journal is the "Pend Oreille Indians." However, the Kalispel are not identified separately. Since the Hudson's Bay Company used various transcriptions of the term Pend d'Oreille to refer to both the Kalispel and the Pend d'Oreille, and since the Kalispel were much more proximate to Fort Colvile than

the Pend d'Oreille, who lived further east, it is likely that most of these "Pend d'Oreille" who were trading at Colvile were in fact Kalispel.

[7] Like Heron and Kittson, Work used the term Pend d'Oreille to refer to both the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreille, and explicitly indicated this in his report (Work 1830). While the Kalispel lived closer to Fort Colvile, it would generally have been more convenient for the Pend d'Oreille to have traded at Flathead Post, east of Lake Pend d'Oreille. It is thus likely that most of the people identified by work as Pend d'Oreille were in fact Kalispel

[8] Ethnographic information says pretty much the same thing. Martin Louie told us that after chinook had spawned, they were picked up by hand by the Colville people from the river shore. They were then bled and eviscerated, and the fish was hung from a tree limb using a hole pierced through the tail end. The air-dried fish would remain on the tree throughout the winter, and any person who needed salmon could take it down. It was always boiled before being eaten (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:59). Spawned fish were also used in other ways. Their skin was peeled off and boiled, to make a glue equivalent which was known to the Colville as *ma7t* (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975b:65).

[9] Johnson reported this information, but did not actually observe the basket being used himself.

[10] As well, ethnographic evidence shows that Simpson's conclusion was mistaken, as ethnographic plant foods data clearly show that the collection of these foods was not limited to the fall, but rather began in the early spring and extended until late in the fall.

[11] This is the same man who would later be shot to death at Galena Bay in a well-known incident in 1894 which was perceived by non-Natives in the area at the time as the consequence of the aggressive defense by "Colville" people of their traditional right to use of areas around Upper Arrow Lake (see Section 3.2 of the present study).

[12] Teit transcribed this name as "*Kirwa*" (Teit 1930b).

[13] The first recorded name of the "Principal Chief" of the Lakes was "*Quilischeenshue*," recorded by John Work in 1830 in his report on the Colvile District. It is not known whether this person was Gregoire, his mother, or another person. The Fort Colvile Journal of 1830 refers to a man from north of Kettle Falls being recognized as the "little chief of the Lakes," but while this chief was identified as a male, his actual name was not given (Work 1830; Heron and Kittson 1830-1831).

[14] Marilyn James, spokesperson for the Sinixt Tribe, has stated that the Lakes' pre-contact population was more than 100,000 people (James 1992:1). In her 1992 "General History of the Arrow Lake Band," James said:

> My people in this immediate area were probably 100,000 or better in number. We're not talking a handful of Indian people. We're talking about 100,000 people, probably a lot more than that because it's really hard to estimate even who's here now unless you travel into this valley at night. And when you see a thousand points of light out there in the darkness and each one of those points of light represents a family, then you understand that there's a lot more people here than we actually had run across. And Indian people weren't these real social animals that they HAD to gather, although they did gather. So it was really hard to estimate, but a rough estimation is 100,000 plus (James 1992:1).

[15] The scholarly assessment of the data on the subject of smallpox in the Pacific Northwest concurs that a major epidemic took place in the 1770s or 1780s, although there is some disagreement as to its exact date. Robert Boyd, the most systematic scholar of this topic, concludes that a second epidemic revisited the Plateau around 1801 and 1802 (Boyd 1985; 1994; 1998; 1999), although this is not accepted by all scholars (Harris 1994).

[16] For example, Teit noted that while the measles epidemic of 1847 was said to have caused many deaths among some groups like the Spokane, the Columbia River groups did not

suffer much (Teit 1930b:316). Both Boyd (1985) and Galois (1996) concur that the estimated death rate from this measles epidemic, which can be measured with much more precision than the smallpox death rate because of the presence of recorded pre- and post-epidemic population statistics, was about 10 per cent. Although the disease was present at Fort Colville, its known diffusion path was northwest through Kamloops and Fort Alexandria. Whether or not the epidemic spread up the Columbia to the Kootenay country is not really known (Galois 1996:34).

[17] Turney-High's views notwithstanding, the Creston Lower Kutenai should be considered to have been *comparatively* sedentary in contrast to the Upper Kutenai. Although the documentation is very weak, some data strongly suggests that the Creston Kutenai were fairly mobile, even as late as the end of the 19th century. Agent Galbraith noted in April 1897 that the "Flatbow" Kutenai, as well as the Upper Kutenai groups, "move about from place to place" during the spring and summer months (Galbraith 1897).

[18] Schaeffer (1940:18-23) also provided a detailed account of the deer-hunting techniques of the Bonner's Ferry people, which was essentially similar to this information on the Lower Kutenai deer hunt recorded by Turney-High.

[19] Both Curtis (1911:173) and Ray (1942) indicate that caribou were eaten, although they provide no further details.

[20] While Schaeffer indicates that this was done out of respect for the grizzly, there may have been a practical aspect to it as well. Other accounts of Native bear hunting indicate that grizzlies, unlike black bears, were notoriously light sleepers during their hibernation, and the tight confines of the bear's lair was deemed to be a highly unsafe place for hunters if an active grizzly was encountered. Allan Smith also was told that the Kalispel did not kill a bear in its den if this could be avoided because if blood were spilled inside the den, no bear would ever use it again (A.Smith 1950:114).

[21] E.L. Affleck, a local historian writing in 1978, stated that the Kootenay would travel in their canoes "down the Kootenay River to Kootenay Lake in search of huckleberries, venison, and the excellent kokanee trout" (Affleck 1978:6).

[22] Chief Luke indicated that a lot of his information came from traditional accounts, particularly from his uncle, who was then (1986) in his eighties (Wynndel Heritage Society 1986:3).

[23] Michel Revais, a mixed-blood man, also told Teit that the Kutenai had never used underground lodges (Teit 1930b:331). Revais was not a Kutenai, however.

[24] Turney-High's discussion of chieftainship is considerably more detailed than the discussions of other writers, and has accordingly been relied on substantially in this discussion.

[25] Chamberlain (1893:556) said that the Tobacco Plains Indians had two chiefs.

[26] Olga Johnson did not herself directly record information on this particular subject. However, she cited the information provided by a correspondent, indicating that:

> Present-day Lower Kutenais have told Paul Flinn that there never was an all-tribe chief. "They say that when a chief visited the grounds of another chief the visiting chief was just another Indian with no special privileges" (O. Johnson 1969:153n).

[27] Curtis (1911:120; 167) also recorded that the Kutenai band chiefs were hereditary.

[28] This resembles some parts of the process recorded by Chamberlain. He stated that:

> One method of selecting the chief appears to have been this: All the men, women and children gathered together around a large fire. The medicine men then conferred with the spirits, and in some mysterious way the chief was named. (Chamberlain (1893:556).

[29] Ray included the Kutenai among Native people who practised what he termed "loose heredity" in determining

chieftainship, in which heredity was important, but the principle was modified subject to achievement or ability (Ray 1939:19).

[30] Chamberlain also suggested, however, that the process of electing chiefs may have not originated until the historic period. He stated that:

> The selection of the chiefs by direct election has been of late years introduced by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, whose influence is now greater than that of the old chiefs, and whose power is much more feared by the Indians than theirs (Chamberlain 1893:556).

[31] No source for this statement is indicated. While Turney-High's figure is not inconsistent with Curtis', Curtis' work is not listed in Turney-High's bibliography.

[32] Animals with valuable skins were seldom killed by shooting, since this would spoil their skins (A.Smith 1950:244).

[33] This description gives the impression that the particular fish caught in this run were steelhead, which do not die after spawning. This is not the case however. Smith specifically noted elsewhere that "steelhead trout were specifically said not to have been found within their boundaries" (A.Smith 1950:365; 367). And in a later passage, he recorded that spearing took place "in September when the fish, spawning, drifted downstream fatigued and dying" (A.Smith 1950:374). This seems to be the meaning, that the returning fish were dying fish that had already spawned.

[34] Smith recorded that the long cedar pole was detached from the foreshaft-point after the fishing was completed, with the pole being left behind in a tree to be recovered the following year (A.Smith 1950:316).

[35] One Lower Kalispel man told Teit that "he thought that a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago" (Teit 1930b:331). However Smith's Kalispel consultants were quite emphatic that they were not used by the Kalispel (A.Smith 1986:161). Ray's Kalispel consultant also indicated that these dwellings were not used, although Ray qualified this response with a question mark to indicate uncertainty (Ray 1942:177).

[36] More specifically, some type of higher organization may have been the result of the need to mobilize effectively for war, because of the recurrent hostilities with marauding Blackfoot (Lahren 1998:290).

[37] George Gibbs (1855:417) also believed that the "*Mich-suck-seal-com*" were the "Pend d'Oreille," and did not make any identification of the "*Coospellar.*"

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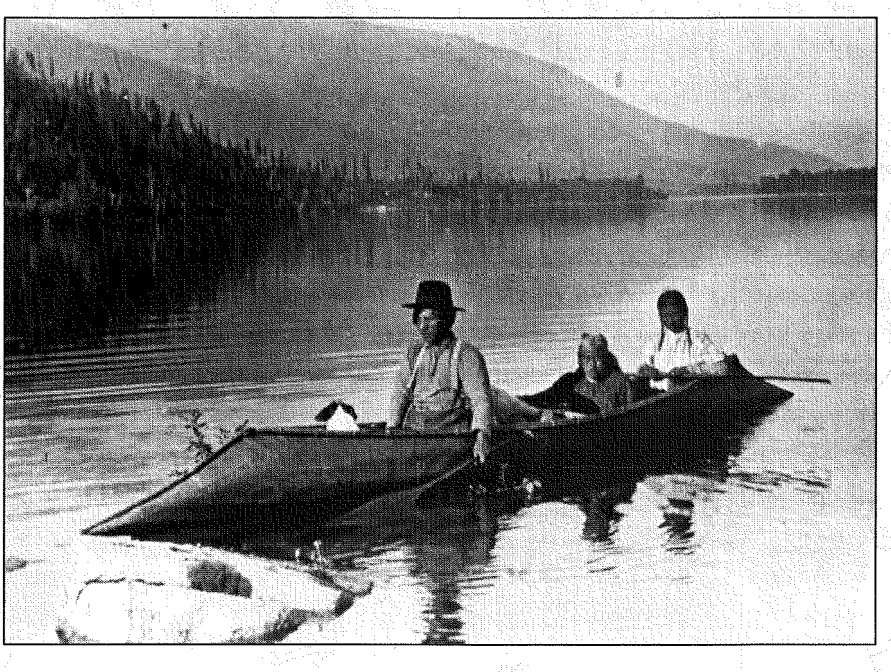

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